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> THE FEMININE IMAGE >

A study of the female subject in the
news and of the female character
in periodical advertising

FOREWORD

This study is the fruit of close collaboration between several researchers without whose joint effort it might never have been brought to completion. The initial task of elaborating a general framework within which the dynamics of feminine action as well as its inhibiting images might be studied fell to Professors Carisse and Dumazedier. The study itself resolved itself into three parts: (1) the examination of the news content of periodicals, with Michelle Fortin and Jules Duchastel; (2) the exploration of the publicity image of women, with Serge Froulx and Guy Legault; and (3) the study of characters in the téléroman, with Louise Desforges. Finally, the work of coordinating the findings of the researchers was assumed by Mme. C. Carisse.

CHAPTER I

PROLEGOMENA: THE PROBLEM, AND APPROACHES TOWARDS ITS SOLUTION

In order that it may propose a programme of action favouring the satisfaction of feminine needs and aspirations, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women has appealed to its researchers to produce an analysis of the status and condition of women in Canada. The sources of information that may be tapped for such a study are varied and numerous. There is, first of all, a mass of statistical information at the researchers' disposal, covering such aspects of Canadian life in general and of the feminine predicament in particular as employment, salaries, level of education, consumer habits, degrees of urbanization, and so forth. By judiciously extrapolating these facts, one may well trace lines of future development -- provided, of course, that nothing supervenes to alter the direction in which current developments have been tending. But the primary object of a Royal Commission is more than merely to forecast the inevitable; rather, it is to make a selection among alternative possibilities so as to favour the realization of those deemed desirable and to counteract or check those considered injurious. But whence are to come the necessary criteria to evaluate tendencies, to determine objectives and to choose the means for accomplishing them? Partly, no doubt, from the various briefs submitted to the Commission by public-spirited organizations and groups, expressing their needs, values and aspirations. For another part, they must emerge from information collected through interviews and enquiries by the researchers themselves and reduced by them to its common essentials. This being so, the question may still be asked: why should an effort be made to study the feminine world through its indirect reflection in our mass media? Two answers may be given in response to this question. First, a proposition which speaks for itself, is the indisputable importance of mass communications media in our times as a means for diffusing prevailing cultural precon-

ceptions. Secondly, we may answer that the image revealed by our mass media probably comes close to expressing those very elements of dynamism and ferment which it is our object as researchers to glimpse. The present study is, therefore, intended to contribute to a clearer understanding of our cultural environment and of its dynamic elements with a view to enabling public authority to intervene profitably.

Our culture, with its characteristic attachment to and dependence upon the mass media, often designated by the term "mass-culture," has a structure peculiar to itself. It is the product of a large and ever-growing profusion of ephemeral messages transmitted by various media: by print in wide circulation, by radio, by television, by open-air signs, by flashing electric lights and coloured neon tubes. It affects each individual in all walks of life; it invades even the privacy of the home where women accomplish their domestic tasks. Studied in their totality, the messages which make up this culture of the mass media expose each one of us to a veritable barrage of chaotic signals. The bits of information which they transmit to us become imprinted on and embedded in our memories forming complex cumulative masses of information, somewhat in the manner of individual fibres combining to form felt. By its very nature, this "mosaic culture" (as it has been described by McLuhan and Moles) is inimical to the ordered and gradual transmission of logically organized information (which, to continue our previous analogy, might be compared to the process of weaving cloth). Confronted with the constant bombardment of messages, the individual might well find himself forced to beat a retreat, unable to integrate these manifold culturemes¹ into an autonomous vision of himself and of his acts in relation to the society in which he lives. In this frame of mind he becomes easy prey to propaganda; he has little resistance to the pressure of standardization and is reduced to a mere passive plaything in the hands of those manipulating opinions and wishes. This is the ultimate danger so often warned of by contemporary social criticism -- the meaning implied in McLuhan's celebrated phrase: "The medium is the message." This, in other words, is the price society has to pay for its culture diffused by mass communications media.

¹ A neologism invented by A. Moles to describe units of information contained in messages. The analogues of felt and woven fabrics are likewise due to Moles, who explains them in his Psycho-dynamism of Culture.

Moreover, in a society such as ours, with its rapid expansion of the horizons of knowledge and its accelerated rate of development, there is a greater danger than ever for existing cultural values to become prematurely obsolescent. Circumstances in our times favour the degradation of images into stereotypes, of ideas into popular myth, of practices into mere routine and custom. The already considerable gulf separating the scientific culture of inventors, researchers and creators from the popular culture of the masses threatens to become even wider with each passing year. On the positive side of things the mass media can become channels of communication between the scientific community, on the one hand, and those who live with the products of their invention, on the other. The quality of the information broadcast to the masses becomes thus an essential critical factor in determining the quality of social interaction; adequate channels of communication can lead to more effective participation in the processes of creation and implementation as well as to greater self-realization.

Keeping in mind these general observations on the social function of our mass media, we may now ask ourselves: by what means can we disentangle from the messages of these media an underlying cultural image of women? Cultural images, as the still-life of the painter, are constituted of various elements and must be reconstructed from these by the social researcher. The first point, then, to require definition is what elements the researcher will choose to base his re-construction of the feminine image on.

There are various methods of classification available to the sociologist engaged in an examination of mass media messages. The principle of classification which we, for our own part, chose to employ was based on the transmitter's intention: was the object of the message primarily to inform, to convince, to divert or to express an emotion? Starting from these premises, we proceeded, accordingly, to distinguish messages into three types.

a) The informative message. Communications falling under this type are intended above all to convey information; as such, they are oriented towards reality. In a rapidly changing world, the diffusion

of factual information, whether at daily, weekly or monthly intervals, fulfills an indispensable need: it permits the public at large to follow events and to learn of new discoveries and inventions. The principal criterion to be applied in the evaluation of informative messages is that of truth: the reader has every right to expect that the information communicated to him is accurate and corresponds to the actual state of events. In messages of this type (it goes almost without saying) the reporting of falsehood is quite indefensible.

b) The utilitarian message. The object of this category of communications is to produce an effect, the intention of the communicator being to convince the recipient of the message and to incite him to act.

The clearest example of this type of communication, at least in our own capitalistic economy, is advertising. There is, we may remark, no intrinsic necessity for this ^{being the case:} it is, indeed, quite possible to conceive a purely informative use of publicity to acquaint the public with the nature and characteristics of available products. Such in effect is the kind of advertising utilized in the U.S.S.R. But in our own society, and in others like it, where the consumption of products is considered the prime mover of the economy, the object of advertising is to convince the greatest number of potential consumers to buy an increasingly varied range of goods regardless of the intrinsic worth of these goods and of the actual needs of the buyers. In a word, the primary object of such messages is to sell. By corollary, the criterion applicable to them is their efficacy in achieving this purpose: from the point of view of the advertiser, the quality of publicity is measurable in terms of the sales of the product promoted.

c) The expressive message. The communications classified under this heading appeal primarily to the emotions rather than to the intellect or the will. Their very essence consists in expression; their purpose is to move, to amuse and to entertain. The most common representatives of this type of message are works of fiction, such as short stories and televised dramas, whose object is to touch the sensibility of the reader or viewer and to engage his imagination. The criterion applicable to these messages is common to all works of art and literature: the intrinsic quality of the creations themselves and their capacity to move.

In the foregoing paragraphs, we have endeavoured to define messages in terms of their primary objects: to inform, to convince and to move the recipient. Almost certainly, these three elements are present in some degree in all messages: thus, a factual event may be recounted in a moving and affective manner; works of entertainment may be the vehicles of important social ideas and insights; while advertising itself can occasionally appeal to the potential consumer's sense of the comical. Fundamentally, all three species of messages are integral portions of a living culture; they serve as intermediaries between two cultural levels, that of the transmitters and that of the public.

But where are we to find the ingredients that make up the cultural image of women? Originally our intention had been to study each of the three categories of messages: (a) news reports of the activities of Canadian women; (b) advertising using pictorial representations of women for purposes of commercial promotion; and (c) serialized television dramas, with their possibilities for audience identification with the female characters. Unfortunately, owing to pressure of time, we were unable to conclude our examination of televised Le Paradis terrestre, broadcast on the French-language network of the C.B.C., during the season of 1967-68. Since much of the raw material for this study has, however, been compiled, there is a distinct possibility of the examination being eventually completed.¹ For the time being, we shall have to content ourselves with analyzing the two other types of messages mentioned, in an effort to discover the cultural tensions whence they spring and which they consequently exhibit. We have said that within our economic system the object of advertising is, quite simply, to sell. In terms of our theory of communication, we may add, however, that much the same necessity governs

¹ In effect, the principal characteristics of the female characters of these televised programmes will be found in a separate annex to our study.

all other types of communications as well: regardless of its ultimate objective, every message must reach its audience and, in order to do so, it must penetrate the barrier of perception. Publicity cannot, by definition, afford to shock, to criticize or to find fault with the reader; it must appeal to generally accepted values, whether of the current or the traditional kind. To what extent does advertising reflect the society that produces it? Or, to phrase the question otherwise, does a society get the kind of publicity that it deserves? There is some validity in both an affirmative and a negative answer. Inasmuch as advertising projects a feminine image which somehow expresses the collective ideal of the population at large, it is a reflex of that society. In this sense, advertising is a secular myth, whose function is to propagate certain values and needs that the products promoted embody and satisfy. From another point of view, the reflection provided by publicity is neither accurate nor reliable, since, by its nature, advertising is bound to avoid innovation and that constant criticism of our ways of life which lies at the root of social progress. The task of presenting these aspects of existence devolves upon the news media in our society: it is here that novelty, criticism and social change are given expression. The chronological study of news items reported in periodicals ought, therefore, to provide a reflection of the changing situation of women. Part of our task in the following study will consist precisely in tracing these changes, as well as in identifying and juxtaposing to these the abiding features of the feminine myth, with its static stereotypes, its routine reactions and its conformist values.

We have said that mass-culture is characterized by the large-scale diffusion of heteroclitic and ephemeral messages for the benefit of a numerous and anonymous public. Given the conditions under which such mass-culture operates, there is every reason to fear that it will engender an attitude of increasing passivity among the public, level cultural differences, and disregard the variety of intellectual needs of the population. In the light of these fears, which appear to be shared by a large number of social critics today, we decided to verify whether in fact the image of women in the mass media was uniform or subject to variation according to the nature of the public addressed. Certain sociologists, among them Riesman and Morin, have

A. The news.

For the purposes of this study, our definition of news includes any report published in a periodical newspaper relating an action or an event involving a person of the female sex. This definition, we may add, does not take into account the manner in which the news is presented, it being understood that the same event may give rise to appreciably different versions, making use of words charged with different connotations, expressing different ideologies and emphasizing or suppressing certain aspects of the event. So as to eliminate these essentially subjective factors from our analysis, we shall reduce all items reported to their fundamental information content -- to a simple summary, in other words, of who has done what.¹ Any news item, regardless of length, has to contain these two semantic elements -- the subject who acts or suffers the action, and the action itself -- in order to qualify for inclusion in our analysis.

Simply stated, our intention is to describe the feminine subject involved in the action and the nature and content of her behaviour. These data will then be classified into various categories derived from an empirical pilot-analysis of social behaviour. Our practice throughout this study will be to treat events as realities. By comparing the news content of periodicals catering to different social and cultural milieux, we shall not only gain an insight into the respective editorial biasses of each social and cultural group, but also be in a position to grasp the diverse "sub-images" of women prevalent in each group. Since the peculiar direction of editorial bias shows up in the frequency with which various types of news are published in a given periodical, the quantitative content of each category will likewise afford material for comparison.

Simultaneously with classifying our data into the categories previously described, the messages will also be coded according to certain of their presentational features, the latter being considered a valuable cultural index. The details through which an event is described represent, in every case, a mere fragmentary selection of facts out of a far more extensive totality. Needless to say, this selection itself is indicative of the communicator's attitude to his subject, and it is this attitude that we wish to explore. When a female subject is mentioned in the news, in what terms do periodicals choose to describe her? what aspects or characteristics of the subject are emphasized? Is it her age, her husband or children that are referred to,

¹ Greimas, Semantique structurale, Larousse, Paris, 1966.

or is it rather her social class, personal antecedents or professional status that are singled out for description? What personal characteristics of hers are emphasized? What features attributed to women are brought into frequent association with each other in news items, and what other features are conventionally contrasted? What, finally, are the principal values -- the main areas of human concern -- upon which descriptions of the feminine subject appear to focus most often? Unfortunately, a fully detailed examination of these cultural symbols is beyond the scope of the present study; given the limits within which this work must abide, we shall examine only a select number of these qualities. They are as follows:

1. Behaviour as reported in newspaper items.

Our purpose, as we have already explained, is to contrast the forces of social renewal with the conventional feminine stereotypes one expects to find propagated in advertising. To that end, our method of dealing with the 3,500 newspaper items originally collected will be one of progressive elimination and restriction. We shall first dispose of items concerning crime and miscellaneous facts, proceeding thence to the examination of passive modes of behaviour and finally to the more detailed analysis of active modes of behaviour in the press. Our object in all this will be to construct an image of the relation of women to contemporary society, grouping our findings into three types according to the locus of feminine action.

a) Society as a whole. Certain problems concern all members of society equally regardless of differences of sex, such as education, transport, housing, health, etc. An action bearing upon any of these general social concerns without regard to the sex of the doer must therefore be classified under this heading, whether the action itself is innovative or conformist.

b) The inequality of men and women. For a variety of reasons which need not occupy us here, the solving of certain problems and the carrying on of certain types of activity are traditionally regarded as the preserve of men in society. When a woman engages in such forms of activity or makes a contribution towards the solution of such problems, this participation will be considered exceptional and worthy of report only because of the sex of the doer. It is these forms of activity, tending to bridge the inequality of the sexes, that are to be included under the present heading.

c) The feminine world. There are certain natural and irreducible differences between men and women that are due neither to the extrinsic inequality of the sexes nor to disparities in their stage of social development. There exist, in other words, certain experiences peculiar to the female sex, and it remains for us to examine the relationship in which individual women stand to this traditional sphere of experi-

Non-conformist behaviour may be classified furthermore according to whether it is social or individual in its orientation. Behaviour of this type may tend either to promote the participation of the subject in the life of the community or to favour the realization of the potentialities of the subject as an individual acting on her own behalf (personalization).

A third criterion may also be applied to non-conformist behaviour -- that of the relative novelty or retrogression of the behaviour in question. Activity may be extraordinary by reason of its being progressive or retrograde in comparison with activity normally associated with a given environment.

By combining the three criteria suggested above, we can establish a fourfold classification of behaviour: innovative, outstanding, conformist and retrograde. Having thus isolated from the whole activities of the innovative type -- which constitute the essence of social dynamism -- we may now ask whether they represent the continuance or fulfillment of tendencies already observed between our two points in time, that is to say, 1954 and 1967.

In order to determine the particular scope and significance of an action, we must finally ask into what area of human activity it falls. Four broad sectors of human activity have been distinguished for this purpose:

Work. Under this title are included all forms of participation in the processes of production, whether the objects of production are goods or services. The problem of economic participation is universal to all members of a given community.

Family obligations. With women, the reproductive function has traditionally taken precedence over the productive function in society. Taken in its most general sense, the reproductive function may be considered to include not only the bearing but also the upbringing of children.

Spiritual and political life. The human commonwealth must, in ad-

purposes is, without any doubt, immensely effective; for a number of reasons, however, we could not undertake a study of television commercials. The televised message comprises three distinct elements in combination: speech, sound and image; the examination of these would have called for a methodology radically different from that used in the first part of our study. Access to the material and the selection of a representative sample posed further difficulties of exceeding complexity. For these reasons, we chose to confine our attention to advertising in the periodical press, basing ourselves on the same publications as those used for the analysis of news items. Our examination will concern principally three points:

1. The product advertised by means of the feminine symbol. Reference to the world of women is more usual in the promotion of certain products than it is in that of others, as we shall see.
2. The feminine model of the advertisement herself, including her physical, intellectual and moral characteristics and the setting in which she is presented.
3. The roles into which the advertising model is usually projected and the values which are associated with her.

Choice of publications.

As we have previously explained, our intention has been to distinguish between various kinds of public in our analysis; our choice of periodicals to be examined accordingly takes into account regional and cultural differences¹ (See Annex III).

Level of urbanization		Cultural milieu General circulation	Elite
Rural	-	<u>Terre de chez nous</u>	-
Regional	-	French: <u>Le Soleil</u> (Quebec) English: <u>London Free Press</u>	-
Metropolitan	<u>Montréal</u> <u>Matin</u>	French: <u>La Presse</u> English: <u>Montreal Star</u> , <u>Toronto Star</u>	<u>Le Devoir</u> (Montreal)

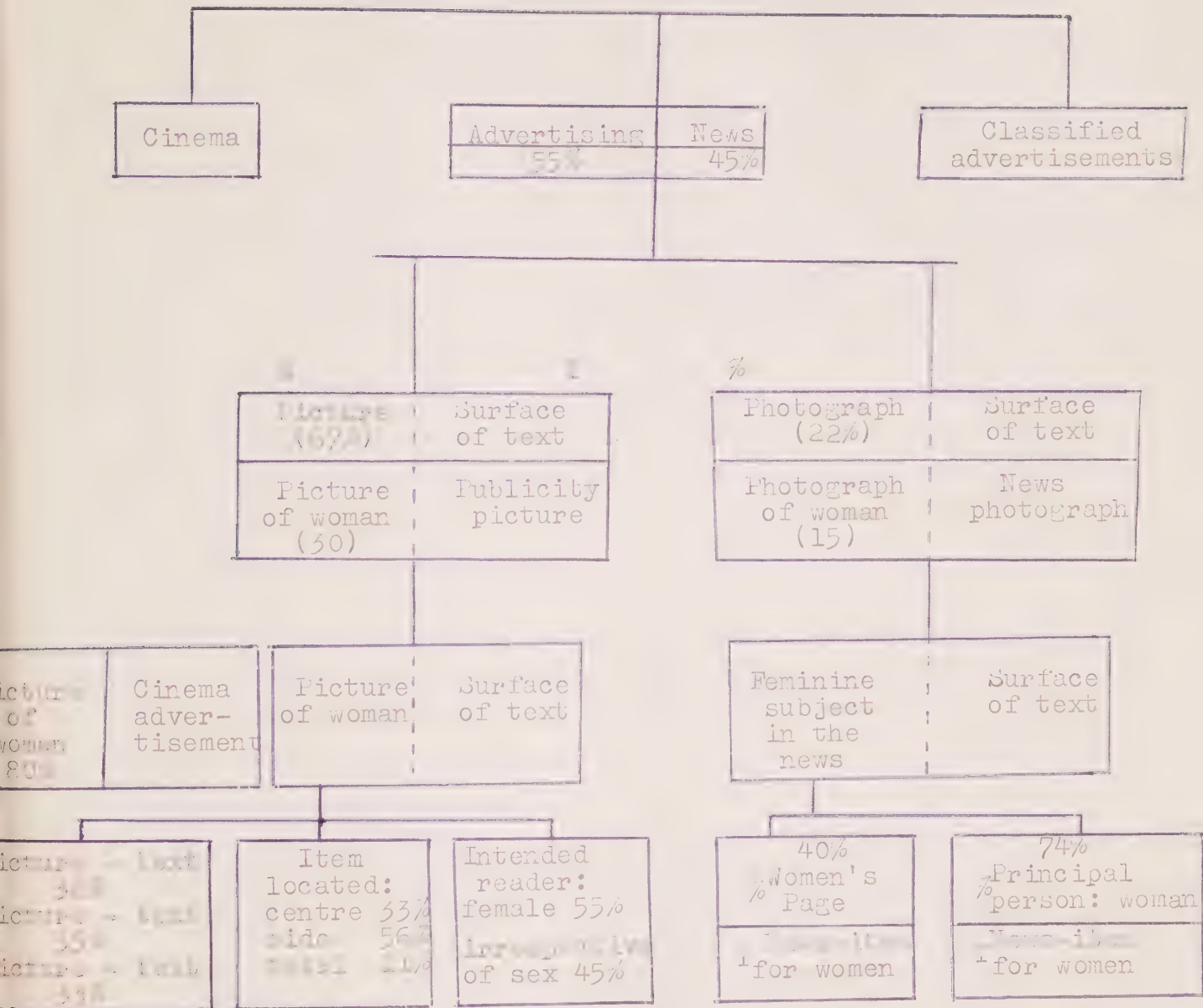
¹ The selection of English-language newspapers was made at the suggestion of Professor F. Elkin, of Toronto.

- b) By contrast, a very accurate measurement of length may be obtained by the use of a method favoured by type-setters themselves, calling for the determination of the number of characters to the inch and of the number of lines to the printed column. This method, if anything, is more accurate than is absolutely necessary for our purposes, so that the degree of precision gained through its use would hardly justify the great expense of effort required in using it.
- c) The method upon which we finally settled offered a compromise between the two extremes of inadequate accuracy and excessive precision. We decided to measure the length of items in units of vertical inches per single column of print. (In applying this measurement, the size and number of characters per line and the width of the column of print were not taken into consideration.)

Owing to limitations of time, the measurement of items with a view to determining their relative preponderance in periodicals could not be carried out for the entire sample of newspapers surveyed. Instead, we had to content ourselves with analyzing two issues (selected at random) of each periodical represented in our study and with extrapolating these results to establish an average. Since the general content and format of newspapers remain more or less stable throughout subsequent issues, this method of extrapolation probably yielded reliable indications. In order to make our basic samples more typical, we avoided issues with unusual features (such as Wednesday copies of daily newspapers, in which food retailers advertise their weekly specials, or issues put out during the holiday season). In measuring the total surface area of periodicals, we imposed no arbitrary restrictions on our sample, preferring instead to base our measurements on the whole.

In coding and classifying publicity messages, the following facts and features were noted: a) the importance of the illustration relative to the text; b) the position of the advertisement on the page; and c) the type of consumer appealed to in the advertisement. So far as the classification of news-items was concerned, we noted a) the scattering of women's news in various sections of the periodical, b)

Total surface



1

1. Analysis of the periodical page
1. Terms of the publicity/news content allocation 1

Generally speaking, the space allotted to advertising (55%) is greater than that allotted to news items (45%), a tendency above all conspicuous in the case of newspapers with wide circulations and heterogeneous readerships. Among journals catering to a more select audience, the proportion is not quite so heavily weighted in favour of advertising, though (if the trend of development from 1954 to 1967 is any indication of what we might expect in the future) the day may not be far distant when all newspapers will carry more publicity than news items.² Regardless of place and year of publication, English-language newspapers invariably contain a higher proportion of advertising material than do their French-language counterparts ($P = .001$), a reflection of the economic disparity of the races and of the unequal numbers of potential consumers in each.

Whereas the space allotted to advertising in dailies with a general circulation has diminished between 1954 and 1967, the converse of this development has taken place among periodicals catering to a more select readership. The result of this converging movement may be the eventual emergence of a uniform advertising-to-news-content ratio in all periodicals regardless of the type of readership catered to.

¹ The total surface is considered to exclude classified advertisements and comic strips. Advertisements for movie theatres, accounting for only 2% of the total surface, will be the subject of a separate analysis dealing with the use made of pictorial representations of women.

² The advent of this development may be hastened by certain impending restrictions on televised advertising (such as the ban on tobacco advertisements in the U.S.A.), which will in fact channel additional publicity funds into the newspapers.

Proportion of the space allotted to
advertising in the periodical press
(based on 100% of the total page surface,
minus classified advertisements)

1967

Periodic	General circulation	Elite
45	63	97
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
23	French 52 English 64	French 63 English 66

1954

Periodic	General circulation	Elite
27	63	90
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
29	French 49 English 55	French 69 English 69

4. The use of photographs and pictures, generally
and more specifically of women in the press and
of pictorial representations of women in advertising

a) The use of photographs in news reporting

Photographs used in connection with the news occupy from 5 to 16% of the space allotted for news-items in periodicals. As a general rule, more photographic material appears in English-language newspapers with a wide circulation than in their French-language counterparts. This difference may reflect an inequality in the financial resources of the respective periodicals, since (as it is well known) the cost of professional photographs and of photo-reproduction in print is quite high.

With one exception,¹ all newspapers printed fewer photographs in 1967 than they had done in 1954. We shall endeavour to account for this fact following a brief look at the use of illustrations in advertising.

¹ Le Soleil which, after a very sparing use of photographs in 1954, attained the general average in 1967.

b) The use of pictures in advertising

Pictorial illustrations of one kind or another are far more often used in publicity than photographs are in the reporting of news. Indeed, the ratio of illustrated advertisements to those unaccompanied by illustrations is in the order of three to one. If we take into account what has been said previously concerning the overall preponderance of publicity-content over news-content in the periodical press, we shall have no difficulty in understanding why the reader's attention, ever responsive to pictorial matter, would be captivated overwhelmingly by illustrated advertisements. The very frequency with which illustration is used for purposes of commercial promotion amply justifies our having singled out this feature as the principal domain of our study.

The importance of pictorial matter

a) Proportion of news-items illustrated by photographs

1947

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
14	15	5
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
12	French 15 English 11	French 12 English 16

1954

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
17	15	5
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
15	French 11 English 15	French 16 English 25

b) Proportion of advertisements illustrated by pictures
(100% = space devoted to advertisements)

1967

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
42	54	29
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
49	French 66 English 65	French 54 English 50

1954

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
72	72	61
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
87	French 78 English 67	French 75 English 57

The frequency of illustrated advertisements in the press varies considerably depending upon the character of the periodical in question. It may range from 29% in publications with a limited circulation up to 95% in magazines intended for the general public.

Advertisers in the great French-language newspapers make more frequent use of illustrated material than do those publicizing their products in English-language periodicals of the same type.¹ Nonetheless, as a general rule, the use of pictures in commercial publicity has declined on the whole between 1954 and 1967, and this holds true of periodicals serving all social levels and both ethnic communities. One may therefore discern a generalized diminution in the use of illustration, both photographic and otherwise, in the periodical press. Although at first glance this phenomenon may appear to conflict with the prevailing conception of our civilization as one obsessed with images, there is no necessary contradiction in reality here. Rather,

¹ Before a hypothesis may be formulated to account for this fact, the additional factor of advertisement size will have to be taken into consideration -- a factor with which we shall deal later.

we may theorize that there is a tendency in our times to put the various communications media to increasingly restrictive and specialized uses: in other words, to use print to transmit the written word, radio to transmit sound and television to transmit images.¹

c) Photographs of women in the news.

Some 15% of all news photographs published in the periodical press involve the presence of women. This proportion is subject to wide variation from one newspaper to the next; it ranges from 0% to 27%, with the higher frequencies (from 13% to 27%) characteristically found in periodicals intended for general circulation.

Women are more frequently the subjects of news photographs in the English- than in the French-language press ($P = .001$); as a rule, they are more frequently represented in the 1967 than in the 1954 press ($P = .001$), the only exceptions here being rural and working-class newspapers and the Toronto Star.

Does the increased presence of women in news photographs reflect their intenser participation in the life of society? The answer to this question must be in the affirmative. If one may rely on the indications provided by the periodical press, one must conclude that this increased participation is, however, limited to women in the middle and upper classes and to those living in an urban environment. It is also somewhat more conspicuous in the case of English-Canadian than of French-Canadian women. The analysis of the feminine activities pictured is the object of Chapter III of this study.

¹ One is inevitably reminded here of the experiments of certain avant-garde motion-picture producers in recent years who have returned to the techniques of the silent film in order to lend the visual image greater impact and intensity.

The presence of women in news photographs
(N = total number of news photographs)

1967

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
10	10	5
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
0	French 14 English 27	French 18 English 15

1954

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
25	-	0
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
-	French 15 English 20	French 7 English 21

d) Pictures of women in advertisements

Thirty percent of all newspaper advertisements are accompanied by representations of women, the proportion varying from 5% (rural press) to 56% (women's magazines).

Periodicals in general circulation, whether intended for the English- or the French-language community, have an average of 37% of their publicity contents illustrated by the representation of women.

The use of such illustration has generally declined in advertising between 1954 and 1967, and this tendency is equally observable in both the English- and the French-language press ($P = .001$). The explanation of this widespread diminution (from 37% to 30%) must be left to conjecture; but whatever theory is advanced to explain it, it must certainly take into account the quality of content, as well as the sheer quantity, of illustrated advertisements.

To sum up, 1) advertising takes up more periodical space than does the reporting of news; 2) the use of pictures in publicity messages outnumbers their use in news reporting three to one; and 3) the frequency with which illustrations of women are used in advertising is double the frequency with which women appear in news photographs. These facts alone justify our determination to devote our study to an examination of the feminine image in advertising and of the female subject in the news.

A comparison of the data collected for the years 1954 and 1967 reveals the following tendencies: 1) a slight decrease in the space devoted to advertising; 2) a somewhat less frequent utilization of illustration in advertising and of photographs in the reporting of news; and 3) a relative increase in the frequency with which women are represented in news photographs and a proportional decrease in the frequency with which they are pictured in publicity illustrations.

So far as the statistical distribution of the periodical page is concerned, the reader is referred to histograms 2 and 3 of this study.

We may now pause momentarily in our study to examine the use of the feminine image in one particular publicity application -- the advertisement of motion-pictures and films.

By the very nature of the entertainment which they offer, motion pictures hold out the lure of unreality and escape to the public -- an appeal reflected by their advertising techniques. The question that particularly concerns us is to what extent women are associated with this imaginative escape. The results of our survey of the entertainment pages of periodicals leave no doubt that the association is very marked indeed: motion picture advertisements include illustrations of women in no less than 64% and up to 100% of the space devoted to such publicity in newspapers, the respective frequencies being only slightly lower in the case of the three English-language periodicals surveyed.

The presence of women in illustrated advertising
(N = total number of illustrated advertisements)

a) In publicity in general

1967

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
58	57	95
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
1	French 54 English 38	French 57 English 50

1968

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
14	39	24
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
7	French 42 English 37	French 37 English 37

b) In motion-picture publicity

1967

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
170	81	64
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
—	French 79 English 68	French 61 English 69

1954

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
31	63	42
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
—	French 80 English 77	French 62 English 57

Contrarily to what we have observed in the case of advertising in general, there has been an increase in the frequency with which illustrations of women occur in motion-picture publicity between 1954 and 1967 ($P = .01$).

3. The female subject in the totality of news items.

One of the objects of the present study is to analyze feminine behaviour as reported in periodicals in order to gain an understanding of the social reality that our newspapers reflect. Accordingly, it will be necessary ^{for us} to determine the amount of space allotted to such items in periodicals, to discover differences between the editorial policies of various publications and to establish the tendency of recent development.

Of the total space devoted in newspapers to the reporting of events, 4% to 7% deals with items concerning female subjects. In contrast to periodicals in general circulation where these frequencies are common, more specialized publications devote only 1% to 3% of their space to items involving women.

Proportional importance of news items dealing with women
(100% = total space allotted to news items)

1967

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
2	5	3
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
1	French 4 English 7	French 5 English 6

1954

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
2	4	2
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
1	French 2 English 8	French 4 English 6

It may be remarked that the frequency of news items dealing with women is much higher in the English- than in the French-language press; indeed, a similar observation has already been made with reference to illustrations of the feminine subject. In 1967, English periodicals devoted from 6% to 7% of their space to such news items, in comparison with a mere 4% to 5% similarly utilized in French publications. The discrepancy between the editorial practices of French and English dailies in general circulation was even greater in 1954 ($P = .01$), so that it may not be inappropriate to conclude that the French-Canadian woman, formerly confined to private life by tradition, is presently evolving at a more rapid rate than her English-Canadian sister. This is confirmed, incidentally, by the fact that the French-Canadian press printed more items involving women in 1967 than it had done in 1954 ($P = .05$) -- a trend common to all individual publications except Terre de Chez Nous. By contrast, the quantum of feminine news content has increased during the same interim in only one English-language newspaper, the Montreal Star ($P = .001$). Be this as it may, the fundamental cleavage in this case has occurred more at the level of metropolitan versus rural publications than along ethnic lines. Thus, among the French-language periodicals, the sharpest increase in feminine news content has taken place in Le Devoir, a metropolitan daily addressed to the intellectual and professional classes. Indeed, it is hardly surprising to find a periodical catering to such readers to be the first to register a change of attitude to the participation of women in the life of society.

Our analysis, somewhat later in this report, of the nature and content of feminine actions reported in the news will afford us more complete understanding of the changing attitudes to women in our times.

4. The importance of feminine illustrations

Up to now, we have been content with measuring the intensity of feminine presence in periodicals by applying the standard of vertical inches per column of print to the various publications surveyed. These measurements have yielded us certain insights into the proportional importance of the feminine image in advertising and of the feminine subject in the news. Our measurements would not be complete and reliable, however, without certain qualitative distinctions as to the number of feminine items surveyed, the place occupied by these on the

periodical page, etc. We shall therefore briefly examine the following points:

- 1) With reference to publicity messages
 - a) the various, more or less advantageous, locations which advertisements occupy on the pages of newspapers;
 - b) the relative importance of illustration and text; and
- 2) With reference to news items
 - c) whether the roles played by feminine subjects in certain given news items are central or peripheral;
 - d) what proportion of news items dealing with feminine subjects are consigned to the women's sections of newspapers and what the location of other such items is.

Since there is considerable divergence between the editorial practices of the various newspapers so far as the distribution of advertisements and news items is concerned, the investigation of the questions delineated above has a purely relative value. What interests us here, above all, is the direction of development between 1954 and 1967, for this will help us to understand the changing importance of the feminine fact in the periodical press.

a) The location of advertisements on the page

There is a general tendency favouring the use of larger format advertisements. As the publicity messages near the sides of the page gradually diminish in size, those located at the centre and covering half a page or more become proportionally more dominant. Full-page advertisements, which account anywhere from 6% to 19% of the total space devoted to publicity in today's periodicals, have become a fairly common phenomenon in our days; the frequency of their use has increased from 1% to 12% since 1954 in all newspapers in general circulation except in the London Free Press where the half-page advertisement appears to be the format especially favoured.

On comparing English- with French-language newspapers, as well as those catering to metropolitan audiences with others serving regional readerships, we are struck by a growing tendency towards standardization. As we shall see shortly, this trend towards uniformity manifests itself not only in the similarity of size and arrangement, but also of structure, of the publicity messages published in various Canadian newspapers.

b) The relative importance of illustration and text

Whereas in 1954 the space claimed by the text of advertisements was generally larger than that taken up by illustrative material, the converse holds true of publicity messages printed in 1967. Indeed, at present, two out of three advertisements in the periodical press devote more space to graphic than they do to written material. Here again, the proportion, as far as newspapers in general circulation are concerned, varies surprisingly little from one periodical to the next (from 29% to 35%).

In order to be in a position to evaluate the actual impact of advertisements upon the consumer, we devised a method of rating them on the basis of four criteria: size, situation on the page, location in the newspaper as a whole, and finally the use of colour in printing them.

An application of this index to advertisements published in 1954 and in 1967 revealed an increase in the frequency of high-impact messages in both the English- and the French-language press. In large measure this increase may be seen as the consequence of a revolution in the techniques of publicity, the efforts of advertisers being directed today less towards persuading the prospective consumer than towards capturing his attention through the lavish use of graphic material. This emphasis on the visual appeal of publicity makes the examination of images in advertising, if anything, more imperative in our day than it has been in the past.

Importance of advertisements
in the pages of periodicals
(N = total number of advertisements)

a) Full-page advertisements

1947

Category	General circulation	Elite
1	10	2
2	Regional	Metropolitan
3	French 9 English 7	French 14 English 13

1948

Category	General circulation	Elite
4	7	4
5	Regional	Metropolitan
6	French 1 English 12	French 7 English 9

b) General distribution of pages

1947

Category	General circulation	Elite
7	24	49
8	Regional	Metropolitan
9	French 42 English 35	French 22 English 27

1954

Category	General circulation	Elite
10	24	33
11	Regional	Metropolitan
12	French 26 English 21	French 24 English 33

The relative importance of illustration
and text
(100% = total number of advertisements)

a) Illustration < text

1967

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
70	60	50
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
82	French 36 English 36	French 36 English 32

1954

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
46	40	42
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
30	French 31 English 37	French 40 English 29

b) Illustration = text

1967

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
16	28	18
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
42	French 34 English 43	French 40 English 36

1954

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
44	47	51
Rural	Regional	Metropolitan
37	French 48 English 37	French 47 English 36

c) Illustration > text

1967

Tabloid	General circulation	Size
45	41	40
Regional	Regional	Metropolitan
17	French 28 English 28	French 41 English 28

Tabloid	General circulation	Size
41	34	37
Regional	Regional	Metropolitan
16	French 40 English 28	French 41 English 28

Even if they have little immediate bearing on the subject of our research, it may be useful to summarize here the principal features and manifestations of two conspicuous tendencies in advertising: standardization in publicity techniques and the growing emphasis on pictorial illustration.

Standardization. Three important conclusions may be drawn under this heading: 1) that the proportion of periodical space devoted to advertising is approximately one half, with little variation in this respect among individual publications; 2) that there is a general trend among newspapers towards greater numbers of large-format, central advertisements and away from small advertisements placed near the sides of the page; 3) that in publicity messages of all

kinds, the text has tended to diminish in importance.¹

In view of the tendency of newspapers to standardize the form and organization of advertisements published, the question may well be asked: has there been a similar tendency towards the standardization of the content of publicity messages? The investigation of this point must await the second part of our study, which will be devoted to the content and meaning of newspaper publicity.

The importance of pictorial illustration. Although, as we have already suggested, the last thirteen years have seen an appreciable decline in the use of pictorial material in newspapers (both in the reporting of the news and in the advertising of products), the effects of this decline have been somewhat offset by an assortment of compensating factors. Although fewer in number, newspaper illustrations have come to be more advantageously placed, to occupy a comparatively larger part of the page, and to be more important relative to the text than they used to be in previous years. The privileged position accorded to illustrations has, if anything, augmented their impact on the reader, justifying (should any justification be needed) our efforts to study their cultural implications.

c) The importance of the female subject in the news

In embarking on this particular phase of our research, we decided to analyze every periodical item in which reference was made to a female subject, whether figuring in a central or in a peripheral way in the event reported. News items were classified, among other criteria, on the basis of whether the female subjects concerned were essential or merely accidental participants in the occurrence described.

In the overwhelming majority of such news items (from 72% to 90%

¹ Our last two conclusions are based specifically on advertisements using graphic representations of women. There is, however, no reason to suppose that this fact has any bearing upon the general validity of our findings concerning the importance given to illustrations in publicity or the placement of advertisements on the page. On the contrary, we have every justification for believing that the tendencies noted in our sample advertisements hold true of advertising in general.

of them) it was found that women were central to the events reported; and this proportion, high in all periodicals surveyed, appears to have undergone no significant change from 1954 to 1967¹. In other words, the study of "women's news items", so to speak, will bring us face to face with the variety of feminine behaviour reported in our public organs of information. We may add at this point that English-language newspapers are even more consistent than the French in presenting women in a role of centrality in their news items -- a fact which, combined with the greater frequency of such news items, points to the comparatively more privileged position of women in English-Canadian society. But before we draw any final conclusions in this respect, we must take into account the results of our forthcoming analysis of the content of feminine news items.

d) Placement of feminine news

The women's sections of newspapers, no less than certain radio and television programmes specifically intended for feminine consumption, are sometimes a source of irritation to women. By segregating women from the general public, these features give the disagreeable impression of reinforcing the idea of a "feminine ghetto!" What is seldom realized, however, is that the women's sections of our daily periodicals are among the most widely read -- and read, we may add, by no means by an exclusively female audience. Hence it is that advertising space in these sections is the most expensive of all. The women's pages of newspapers have their own editors who receive the news they publish from the general editor. How (the question is pertinent) is the distribution of news items effected among the various editors? What kind of news finds its way into the women's section, and on what grounds is the selection of items made? We have put these questions to the women's editors of four newspapers and one magazine: La Presse, Le Devoir, The Montreal Star, Le Soleil and Chatelaine. The answers which we received are given in summary in an appendix to this report.

For our present purposes, ~~we shall confine ourselves in this introduction~~ to the investigation of the quantitative importance of women's pages. What proportion of news items of interest to women

¹ The following example will clarify the distinction. The news item reporting the appointment of Mrs. Pluntree as President of the Vanier Institute obviously presents the feminine subject in a position of centrality. By contrast, a passing mention of this same fact in an article on a different subject would be classified as an instance of peripheral presence in the news.

appears in these special periodical sections? Our survey indicated considerable variation among the editorial practices of various newspapers, the proportion ranging from a low of 15% up to a high of 69%. The proportion in the case of periodicals in general circulation was about 40%, with The Toronto Star alone diverging radically from this norm, with 15%. As a rule, periodicals in the English language display less tendency to concentrate "women's news items" in sections reserved for feminine readers than do their French-language counterparts. Combined with other circumstances already mentioned, this tendency not to segregate news items according to sex denotes a more liberal disposition in the English-language newspapers. But before any conclusive inference may be drawn here, we must examine the content of the news items in question and ascertain what type of activities or events they report in connection with the feminine subject. The first part of our study will be devoted to precisely such an analysis of the press.

The concentration of news items involving women in the women's sections of newspapers
(N = total number of news items)

1967

Tabloid	General circulation	All
15	41	50
Periodic	General	Metropolitan
42	French 42 English 15	French 43 English 15-48

1954

Tabloid	General circulation	All
3	48	59
Periodic	General	Metropolitan
42	French 42 English 50	French 42 English 29-43

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CHAPTER III

TYPES OF ACTION

Introduction

The title of this chapter expresses its purpose: to study types of action by the female subject. We envisage women as acting within the society in which they live; and our aim is to analyse these actions as they are reflected in the press. Our use of the term subject to refer to the person acting may be explained in this case by our basic assumptions regarding the individual: the assumption that he is not merely a passive object, a mechanism which adapts to external conditions and reacts to given situations, but an active subject who, by deliberate and premeditated action and by a capacity to make decisions, can and does in fact transform the world in which he finds himself. Applied to the situation of women, this theoretical approach implies that individuals do not live in a completely pre-determined environment with others around them acting in certain definite ways and in accordance with certain inalterable rules. We must conceive women as existing, not face to face with a hostile and intractable world, but in an environment which is in process of change, which she herself can in fact to a certain extent define, evaluate, choose and influence. This is the concept of the social subject that has led us to adopt a system of categories of action, whence, by eliminating irrelevant types, we can come to concentrate our attention on dynamic action, the source of innovation.

First step: The totality of news items concerning women, classified into the following types: miscellaneous facts, crime, individuals, and personal conduct. From this list we shall eliminate miscellaneous facts and crime in order to focus our analysis on the individual and her personal conduct.

Second step: news items concerning personal conduct, classified according to whether they deal with passive or active types of behaviour. Items describing passive behaviour will then be eliminated while those referring to active behaviour will be retained for further analysis.

Third step: items concerning active personal conduct, distributed into the following types: innovative conduct, exceptional conduct, and conformist conduct.

In the remaining part of our study, the available data will be analysed in terms of this typological distribution in order to discover the special characteristics of innovative action.

1. The nature of news items.

For the purpose of discriminating between types of news items we have used the following fundamental and mutually exclusive categories:

- crime: reports an action (committed or suffered) which is contrary to law;
- miscellaneous fact : i.e., presents an event, either actual or imaginary, without relevance to the individuality of any woman (even in the passive sense);
- conduct: treats some specific action (except crime);
- individual: deals with a person in general rather than in his connection with any particular event or mode of conduct.

We shall begin by describing the relative importance of the various types of news items in the newspapers which we have analyzed, and present a statistical breakdown of articles dealing with miscellaneous facts, crime, conduct and individuals.

a) Crime and miscellaneous facts

These two classes of items account for approximately the same number of articles (from 6% to 13% of all the news) and are given approximately equal coverage in individual newspapers from year to year. Accordingly, we shall discuss them jointly. The crimes most frequently mentioned fall into the following categories: fraud, theft, receiving stolen goods, assault, legal action. It is to be noted that women are very often mentioned as the victims rather than the perpetrators of criminal acts; and that the commonest crimes are larceny and other acts defined as felonies under the criminal code as well as minor offences, such as shoplifting and vagrancy. Hence it is that this category of actions does not constitute a significant part of the totality of feminine actions. Miscellaneous facts include brief social items sometimes printed under the heading of "Miss", giving details of private life, personal eccentricities and accidents. They constitute a residual category with reference to action.

Our first classification of news items indicates a cultural differentiation in the content of the news reported, according to the reading public.

Cultural differentiation of news, according to
reading public and milieu, 1967
(Proportion of crimes and miscellaneous facts)

Tabloid	General public	Elite
26.1%	21.0%	6.25%
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
0.0	French 12.9 English 16.5	French 21.0 English 26.3

In the tabloid press, more than one quarter of the news items printed deal with miscellaneous facts or with criminal conduct; the tendency to sensationalism and to the use of fictitious events is unmistakable here. By contrast, in the elite newspaper, intended for a more educated reading public, only 6% of the news falls into this category. Thus, the informative value of reporting on events is commensurately greater in the elite press. A similar progression may be observed on the rural-regional-urban continuum. Rural newspapers contain no news items of this type. By contrast, La Presse (a metropolitan daily intended for the general public) has an average of one out of five women's news items dealing with crime or with miscellaneous facts. The proportion is still higher in the Toronto Star (one out of four), the number of such items being almost twice that found in the regional papers whether in Ontario or in Quebec.

The tendency to report fictitious events is generally more pronounced in the case of the English-language newspapers; since 1954, the number of such reports in the English press has somewhat increased while in the same interval it has considerably diminished in the French press. This diminution has been very marked in the case of the more specialized newspapers: from 50% to 26% in the Montréal Matin, from 53% to 6% in Le Devoir, and from 26% to 15% in Le Soleil. Generally speaking, newspapers have moved towards far greater uniformity of news content between 1954 and 1967, and this trend has manifested itself not only in changes of format but also, as we have suggested, in changes in informative content.

b) Conduct and individuals

News dealing with individuals and events have a qualitatively superior informative content to news items dealing with futile or criminal actions. Such positive actions, moreover, make a more direct contribution to the life and progress of society.

News items concerning individuals are of the reportorial kind and, as such, they tend to present the female subject as an example or model. Even though such items are not very numer-

ous, we have placed them in a special class by themselves on account of a general rise in their number since 1954 and because the French-language press appears to resort to the personalizing of news much more frequently than the English-language press. The trend towards more personal reporting raises certain interesting questions for which we have no way of providing answers: does it represent simply an aspect of editorial policy? Is it a consequence of the type of information sources available? Or is it, in a more sociological sense, an indication that a society in rapid development will mobilize its information media to provide model-personalities for general emulation?

News items describing positive actions show a trend precisely the inverse of that reflected by items dealing with futile or negative action: an overall increase in the French press and a decrease in the English press. All newspapers, however, devote at least 75% of their women's news to other than anecdotal material. It is on these news items of positive action that we shall concentrate our attention.

2. The nature of articles dealing with personal conduct.

Having differentiated between positive and negative conduct, we may now examine the proportion between these two types of behaviour of the female subject. For purposes of this study we may define active conduct as that in which the subject assumes a posture or utters words whereby he realizes an intention. Passive conduct, by contrast, may be defined as that in which the subject endures or submits to an action (in the widest sense of the term).

These general definitions require further specification. Thus, in our use of the term, we consider a subject who has merited an honour or has been given a particular function or charge in recognition of past or present activities, to be active. By contrast, we regard as passive a subject whose involvement in an action or event is simply a matter of "having been there," whether the occasion is a visit, a journey, a reception, or otherwise. Likewise, an individual who aspires to an honour or obtains some distinction by chance or through another's decision, is treated here as a passive subject. Lastly, the vari-

ous acts and events which make up an individual's private life (such as his engagement, marriage, divorce, sickness or death) are considered according to our definition as passive.

a) Proportion of active and passive behaviour.

Passive conduct merely places the person within an external context; even when there is no element of chance involved in the action, the person acts simply by being present. In this sense, our concept of passive conduct is not far removed from that of miscellaneous fact, and it is therefore not surprising to see that the statistical distribution of news items dealing with passive conduct somewhat resembles that of items dealing with crime and miscellaneous facts.

Type of conduct, according to milieu, 1967
(100 = news items dealing with conduct and individuals.)

Active
conduct

Tabloid	General public		Elite	
58.6	67		80.1	
Rural milieu	Regional milieu		Metropolitan milieu	
93.0	French	85.4	French	67.2
	English	78.1	English	72.8

Passive
conduct

Tabloid	General public		Elite	
41.4	52.8		19.9	
Rural milieu	Regional milieu		Metropolitan milieu	
7.0	French	16.5	French	52.8
	English	21.9	English	27.2

It is evident that newspapers report such news as will presumably satisfy their readers. Passive, artificial and conformist behaviour, with its particular stress on appearances, is more frequently the subject of news items in a metropolitan milieu and with an unsophisticated reading public. Yet, a metropolitan newspaper such as Le Devoir can offer its readers a far more active image of women (80%) than other newspapers in the same area. By contrast, women in a rural context are almost never represented as having a passive role. In the case of newspapers of general circulation, the proportion of news items presenting active behaviour ranges from 67% to 83%.

In 1954, marked differences existed between English- and French-language newspapers. The English-language press in the country tended to present a higher proportion of active behaviour than its French-language counterpart, while the contrary situation obtained in the metropolitan press. By 1967, however, these differences had been levelled and were no longer significant.

Before taking leave of news items presenting passive behaviour, we may briefly examine whether reported events tend to be more often happy or unhappy. In a traditional society, not only is the idea of passivity usually associated with the female, but so also are the ideas of pain and suffering -- both these experiences being commonly tied in with the experience of childbirth and death. In the modern mass media, passivity, however, has a different meaning: it implies receptivity to pleasure, the enjoyment of being a detached spectator of life. What, then, is the prevalent view of passive behaviour in the press?

Irrespective of cultural differences, unhappy events, we find, are very seldom the subject of news reports. Most instances of passive conduct are either neutral in this respect or associated with happy occasions, the latter association being found in one-third to one-half of all examples of passive behaviour.

Passive behaviour in its relation to happy events,
according to cultural milieu, 1967

Tabloid	General public	Elite
40.0	55.8	55.4
Rural milieu ^a	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
	French 36.7 English 51.4	French 53.0 English 45.6

^a Insufficient frequency of passive behaviour.

There appears to be no significant difference in distribution here in terms of either continuum proposed.

Before concluding our treatment of passive behaviour and moving on to subjects more relevant to our research, we shall attempt to provide a statistical breakdown, according to social position, of the women described in news reports as passive in behaviour.

Types of women described as passive in behaviour, according to frequency of mention, Montreal newspapers, 1967 (N = instances of passive behaviour)

Female subject	First Rank	Second Rank	Third Rank	Total
Personalities	Presse	Devoir	Mtl matin	
Aristocracy	Presse	Devoir	Mtl matin	
Stars	Devoir	Presse	Mtl matin	
Brief social items	Mtl matin	Devoir	Presse	
Gossip column	Mtl matin	Presse	Devoir	

5. Types of action

Having disposed of news items dealing with the female subject in a variety of less important aspects, we may now begin our study of active feminine conduct. In order to describe it, we have constructed a system of categories corresponding to the theoretical questions which we have raised in the Introduction. Our system of categories is based on three criteria:

- a) relation to change:
 - change
 - non-change
- b) localization of roles
 - society at large
 - inequality of man and woman
 - traditionally feminine milieu
- c) orientation
 - towards the active individual: personalization
 - towards the outside world: participation.

The first question with regard to active conduct involves its relation to change: does the action imply the changing of some form of established institution? Does it represent a departure from conduct normal within a given milieu? Actions may, on the one hand, promote change in the status quo, or they may, on the other, combat or oppose it.

The second criterion concerns the particular plane on which the action takes place. There are three possibilities here: first, the action may touch society as a whole, that is, men and women equally, raising similar problems for each and requiring similar solutions from each; secondly, it may concern male society in particular (i.e., it may relate to the inequality of the sexes in any given society); or, again, it may have a bearing on the range of activities traditionally associated with women, such as domestic affairs, the upbringing of children, and other conventionally feminine roles.

An action may, furthermore, be described in terms of its social orientation and value. Thus, certain actions are group-oriented insofar as they tend to promote the participation of the individual or of the group in the life of society. Others are oriented towards the individual, and intend above all the realization of personal aspirations (whether these aspirations are those of the subject or those of any other individual). Lastly, actions may be oriented neither towards the individual nor towards society.

The combination of these three criteria yields twenty-four possibilities which may be grouped under four general types of behaviour: innovative, exceptional, conformist and retrograde. (For a list of actions classified as innovative and for examples of exceptional and conformist behaviour, see the attached appendix.)

	Change			Non-change		
	Society at large	Inequality	Female world	Society at large	Inequality	Female world
Participation	INNOVATIVE ^a			EXCEPTIONAL ^b		
Personalization						
Non-participation	RETROGRADE			CONFORMIST ^b		
Non-personalization						

^a See appendix for a list of innovative actions.

^b See appendix for examples of exceptional and conformist conduct.

Innovative behaviour is behaviour oriented towards the realization of some positive change, regardless of whether the change contemplated involves a higher degree of participation or of personalization, or whether it is intended to affect society as a whole, the inequality of the sexes, or the feminine sector of society.

Retrograde behaviour is behaviour negatively oriented (i.e., opposed) to some change, regardless of whether the change contemplated involves a higher degree of participation or of personalization, or whether it is intended to affect society as a whole, the inequality of the sexes, or the feminine sector of society.

Exceptional behaviour is behaviour not intended to accomplish any change but expressing an unusual degree of participation or of personalization by the subject in any of the three sectors previously defined.

Conformist behaviour is conventional behaviour not intended to accomplish any change and expressing a usual degree of participation or of personalization by the subject in any of the three sectors previously defined.

We shall begin by examining briefly the scope and orientation of actions, and then move on to a more detailed treatment of the various types of action. In this regard, we may state at the outset that the theoretical type of the retrograde action is in fact virtually nonexistent among the actions ascribed to women in the daily press. All actions implying change are, in consequence, innovative (although, as we shall see, not all in the same degree), whereas actions reflecting the established norms of society may be either conformist or exceptional.

a) The locale of the action

Generally speaking, nearly one-half of all instances of active personal conduct have a bearing on society as a whole and would be equally worthy of mention if they represented masculine rather than feminine achievements. (Instances of this type are the discovery of a serum, the reform of a hospital, etc.) One action in ten would not deserve to be mentioned but for the fact that the subject responsible is a woman. This circumstance alone makes the action newsworthy (for example, the appointment of the first female professor to a school of mechanical engineering). About one-half of all reports of active personal conduct cover actions traditionally identified as feminine: sewing, family and club life, etc.

Tabloids and rural newspapers give equal emphasis to news items dealing with traditional female activities: the majority of the actions reported emanate from this sphere, and only rarely transcend the barrier dividing the sexes. Only one action out of three has relevance to society as a whole. The contrary is the case with metropolitan newspapers of general and elite circulation. (By way of exception we may, however, cite Le Devoir, an elite newspaper, in which reports of activities relevant to society as a whole are no more numerous than those of activities confined within the traditional female sphere.) Differences between the French- and English-speaking milieux are negligible in this regard, except in the country where the activity of the English-Canadian woman is more frequently bounded within the traditional female sphere than that of the French-Canadian woman.

The locale of actions, according to milieux, 1967.
(100% = total number of instances of
active behaviour)

Society as
a whole

French 48.1%
English 42.0

Tabloid	General public	Elite
32.9	56.9	43.0
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
38.7	French 59.4 English 34.3	French 56.9 English 51.8

Inequality
of the sexes

French 9.1
English 9.6

Tabloid	General public	Elite
2.3	12.9	16.8
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
2.5	French 6.2 English 6.2	French 12.9 English 11.2

Female world

French 42.8
English 48.4

Tabloid	General public	Elite
64.7	30.2	40.2
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
58.7	French 34.4 English 59.6	French 30.2 English 36.4

N = 1196

In all newspapers without exception, we notice a considerable decrease in the number of items dealing with activities defined traditionally as feminine. It must be emphasized therefore that newspapers afford a faithful reflection of social realities. More than ever in the past, the arena of feminine action today is the outside world; it transcends the traditional trammels that formerly separated the areas of male and female activity. As we shall have occasion to see, these activities are not necessarily related to the production of either goods or services.

b) Participation and personalization

Action, whether it is innovative or exceptional, invariably causes the subject either to participate more fully in society or to realize his talents and capacities more completely. These two alternatives account for all cases; and, although they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, in practice one of the two usually takes precedence over the other. (In all, only five actions among those analyzed embodied both orientations equally; these were eliminated from our statistical survey.)

In what proportion do innovative and exceptional actions manifest these two orientations? In brief, we may state that

Orientation of actions, according to
cultural milieu, 1967
(100% = total of innovative actions)

Participation

French
English

N =

Tabloid	General public	Elite
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
	French English	French English

Personalization

French
English

N =

Tabloid	General public	Elite
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
	French English	French English

c) Types of action

The statistical distribution of conformist and innovative actions varies directly with the level of cultural attainment, innovative and exceptional behaviour increasing in direct proportion with the level of education and of urbanization. By the same token, conformist actions are typical of lower-class (66%) and rural environments (73%).

A comparison of the English- and French-language press suggests that English-Canadian women act in a significantly more conformist manner than do French-Canadian women. This is particularly true of women in a small town environment. Thus, for example, in the London Free Press three-quarters of the actions reported fall into the conformist category. By corollary, English-language newspapers (especially those based in small towns) report exceptional and innovative behaviour relatively seldom.

One of the most interesting conclusions to which our research has led is undoubtedly the impressive increase ($p = .002$ or less) in the number of innovative actions reported in all newspapers without exception. From a total of 94 such actions reported in 1954 we pass, in 1967, to no less than 233. The proportion of these varies from 13% (London Free Press) to 57% (Le Devoir) in 1967, as against 1% to 14% in 1954. In newspapers intended for general circulation (with the sole exception of the London Free Press), one action out of every four actions reported falls thus into the category of positive change.

Instances of exceptional conduct have also risen in number but to a far less spectacular degree. Nevertheless, their absolute frequency is higher than that of innovative actions.

Conversely, conformist behaviour -- actions within the traditional domain of feminine behaviour and having no relevance to change -- has undergone a proportional diminution in 1967 ($p = .002$ or less). Such behaviour, nevertheless, still constitutes almost one-half of the actions reported in the French-language press and over one-half of those appearing in the English-language newspapers.

Types of action, according to milieu, 1967
(100% = total number of instances of active
behaviour per newspaper)

Innovative

French 22.8%
English 16.3

Tabloid	General public	Elite	N = 233
14.1	25	37.4	
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu	
16.2	French 22.2 English 13.5	French 25 English 22.7	

Exceptional

French 30.6
English 25.2

Tabloid	General public	Elite	N = 333
22.3	27.6	38.4	
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu	
11.2	French 43.7 English 12.9	French 27.6 English 23.6	

Conformist

French 45.7
English 58.2

Tabloid	General public	Elite	N = 622
66.3	46	33.6	
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu	
72.5	French 33.3 English 73.6	French 46 English 52.7	

4. Innovative action

a) Degrees of innovation

Since every innovative action is done with the object of effecting a positive change, actions of this kind may be differentiated into two types: those which tend to promote the fuller participation of the subject in the life of society, and those which tend towards the fuller development of the subject's own potential resources. Innovative actions may furthermore be distinguished according to the degree of novelty they involve. We have discriminated four such degrees:

- pure innovation: an action intended to effect, propose or demand some change, regardless of the orientation and intended locale of the action;
- the avant-garde: behaviour characteristic of a small number of privileged individuals who are the first to adopt a new type of conduct or a novel point of view. These are the so-called "early adopters" of Rogers;
- diffusion: action with the ultimate purpose of propagating new ideas or types of conduct, as proposed by the two previous groups, among a more extensive social group;
- participation in innovation: the behaviour of individuals who adopt new ideas or types of conduct before these become generally accepted by the majority of the population, without being directly influenced by the three previous groups. These are the so-called "early majority," according to Rogers.

Degrees of innovation, according to milieu, 1967
(100% = total number of innovative actions)

Pure innovation
and avant-garde
behaviour

41.9%

Tabloid	General public	Elite
25%	58%	35%
Rural milieu ^a	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
8	French 38 English 42	French 58 English 42

Diffusion and
general parti-
cipation

58.1%

Tabloid	General public	Elite
75	42	64
Rural milieu ^a	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
92	French 62 English 58	French 42 English 58

^a Total number of innovative actions: 13

In view of the low frequency of our data, we have regrouped them into two categories; even so, the quantity of data available for 1954 is insufficient to allow meaningful comparisons to be made.

The degree of innovation is normally a function of cultural milieux; and the press which caters to different segments of the public reflects a cleavage along these lines. In lower-class and rural surroundings, innovation operates principally at the level of diffusion. The initiation and pioneering of innovations, by contrast, occur more frequently in an urban environment, and, more

¹ This remark holds true of all comparisons based on types of behaviour, i.e., innovative actions, since the 94 instances of innovation counted in 1954 are not a sufficiently representative sample to enable us to make significant comparisons with the 253 innovations counted in 1967.

often still, in a metropolitan setting, as far as the French-language press is concerned. Here again, Le Devoir is less progressive than La Presse, and manifests the same conservative tendency as has already been noted with reference to the distribution of types of behaviour. The English-language press, which is all in all less innovative than the French, shows no corresponding distinction in level of innovation between newspapers published in small-town and in metropolitan settings.

b) Intensity of the innovative image

We have already demonstrated that over the last few years the frequency of news items presenting innovative actions has risen considerably. To qualify this conclusion, we must now ask ourselves precisely which parts of the newspapers surveyed embody most reports of innovative action, bearing in mind that different newspapers display a considerable variation in format. By answering this question, we shall be in a better position to assess the actual psychological impact that the innovations reported have on the reader.

It has already been noted that news items reporting innovative behaviour are most often located in the women's sections of newspapers -- 66% in Le Soleil and 85% in La Presse, as against approximately 40% for the totality of women's news items presented in general circulation French-language papers. In Le Devoir, some 55% of all innovative actions reported occur in the women's section. The editorial policy of English-language newspapers is to classify items in accordance, rather, with the action described than with the sex or identity of the subject (see Introduction, p.). Despite this difference in editorial practice, however, innovative behaviour figures proportionally more often in the women's sections of English-language newspapers than any other kind of behaviour. We must therefore conclude that the female initiatives reported are meant above all to be taken as models of action by the female reading public. (We may recall that, of all specialized sections, the women's section is the most widely read.)

The physical impact of articles appearing in the women's section is enhanced by the fact that, generally speaking, items describing innovative behaviour are given more than average space

on the page. A relatively high proportion of these items (from 24% to 38%) are long articles (sixteen inches or more); from 20% to 38% of them are of average length (from seven to fifteen inches); and from 24% to 41% of them are brief items (from one to six inches). By contrast, reports of conformist behaviour account for a much smaller percentage of long articles (from 7% to 12%). It is worth remarking that those newspapers which present fewer reports of innovative action tend also to devote less space to such items -- proof that the editorial policy of some newspapers is consciously to avoid controversial statements. As the English-language press prints proportionally fewer articles dealing with innovative action, so the length of the articles concerning such subjects appears to be also, on the average, less than those published in French-language newspapers.

5. Sectors of activity

Before concluding our study of the characteristics of newspaper accounts of active behaviour, we must investigate with what special areas of activity these accounts deal. We shall first consider the totality of active behaviour and then proceed to examine innovative actions in particular.

For purposes of this study, we have classified activities according to whether they are related to work, family life, leisure or other modes of engagement in the life of society.¹

- Work: includes all remunerative activity and all other forms of activity incidental to the former, such as participation in the labour movement, trade unions, etc.;
- Family: includes at once the wife's activities in the home (domestic work, the upbringing of children) and the activities of organisms oriented towards the family;
- Leisure: includes (according to the definition of Joffre Dumazedier) all activities presenting at once the character

¹ What determines the character of ~~any~~ activity described in a newspaper is the activities of the readers rather than those of the person or group described. (The latter may be the same as, or different from, the former.)..

istics of freedom, disinterestedness and personal enjoyment. We have also included in this category activities of the para-leisure type, that is to say, activities which combine the element of diversion with involvements of a different order (civic, religious, charitable, etc.)¹

- Non-leisure: includes other activities of a religious, social, economic, political, educational, and charitable character, and so forth, which imply a degree of initial commitment.

Upon classifying our data along our two familiar coordinates, we find that news items dealing with work vary in direct proportion with the level of education, while those dealing with leisure activities vary in inverse proportion. Here, the newspapers do not reflect the structure of the cultural milieu of their readers; since, obviously, women are more often employed in a working-class environment and the opportunities for leisure are greater in the financially more privileged classes. The reason for this anomaly is, of course, that work has not the same qualitative valuation; the working woman works by necessity, and her job-attitude is probably such as to make her resentful of being reminded of it by the newspaper. By contrast, the educated woman has a much greater chance of expressing herself in her work and, consequently, of participating in actions worthy of being brought to the attention of the public. It will be remembered that the tabloid-type newspapers published more police news and miscellaneous facts, and favoured passive forms of behaviour. We may now add that the area of activity most often mentioned is that of leisure. It may be assumed that we are here confronted with the use of mass media as an escape mechanism; the articles describing leisure activities offer, as it were, a dream-substitute for what the reality lacks, enabling the reader to escape from the drabness of daily existence. Certainly, the facts at our disposal appear to confirm this hypothesis, although its verification would require further study of the attitude of the readers themselves.

¹ Joffre Dumazedier, "Leisure" in International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (Free Press, New York, 1965).

Sectors of activity, according
to milieu, 1967
(100% = total number of news items
per newspaper on active behaviour)

Work

Tabloid	General public	Elite
52%	48%	54%
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
35	French 56 English 35	French 48 English 55

Family

Tabloid	General public	Elite
11	7	8
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
2.5	French 9 English 8	French 7 English 18

Leisure

Tabloid	General public	Elite
45	31	16
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
40.0	French 15 English 43	French 31 English 14

Social obligations

Tabloid	General public	Elite
12	11	22
Rural milieu	Regional milieu	Metropolitan milieu
22.5	French 21 English 14	French 11 English 13

Let us recapitulate in greater detail our analysis of activities, sector by sector.

Family.-- The home and the family being the traditional sphere of female activity, it is reasonable to expect relatively few news items derived from this source. Since domestic activities are part of the daily routine of most women, they provide little potential material for diversion. Hence it is not surprising to find that such items account for only 10% of the total of activities reported. The tendency between 1954 and 1967 has been towards a slight diminution in the number of such items in the French-language press, and towards an increase in their number in the English newspapers. In the case of the Toronto Star and the London Free Press, the number of articles within this sector has doubled, bringing the proportion of family-news in the Toronto Star to 18% of all feminine actions. Significantly, the Torontonians woman is the most active in the country insofar as involvement in professional life is concerned.

Work.-- While debate continues concerning the benefits of female involvement in professional life, women have made unmistakable gains in this domain. Indeed, one-half of the feminine actions reported are in the sector of work and employment. The reasons for the predominance of this sector are evident: the production of goods, services and ideas is a conspicuous process which may be readily communicated to the reading public at large. The trend of developments in this sector is, once again, significant: all newspapers (except the Montréal Matin) show increased activity in this area which, in 1954, accounted for only one-third of the total of actions reported. A more detailed analysis of the data indicates a concentration and increase of activity in fields associated with the arts (9.6%) and with entertainment (7.7%). Professional sports account for the third largest category (5.5%)¹. At the same time, activities connected with specialized professions other than in the arts represent a mere 3.5% of the total, the same proportion as in 1954.

¹ The percentages are based on the total number of actions reported including those in all sectors of female activity.

Time not taken up by the participation of women in family and professional life may be used in two ways: entertainment and leisure, essential in maintaining the individual's balance, and various forms of social commitment, necessary for the proper functioning of society.

Leisure.— Leisure activities which, in the year 1954, had held equal place with work, have now come to occupy second rank. The analysis of individual newspapers in this sector produces varied and somewhat conflicting results. There has been a pronounced decrease of such news items in Le Soleil; no change in the London Free Press; a slight (insignificant) increase in La Presse and a sharp falling off in the Toronto Star; a lessening of numbers in Le Devoir and a major increase in the Montréal Matin. No consistent pattern or trend emerges from the comparison and analysis of these data.

Social engagement.— In all, the social involvement of women in areas other than work has been slight, and accounts for only 15% of the total. Changes in this respect since 1957 have been neither significant nor suggestive of any consistent trend. The detailed study of data does, however, indicate a decrease in religious activities (from 7.4% to 1.7%) and an increase of involvement in political life (from 3.7% to 5.3%)¹. One can only deplore that the extent of feminine activity in the field of education does not exceed the very low figure of 0.5%.

We shall now investigate in what particular sectors of activity innovative actions tend to fall compared with other types of active behaviour.

¹ Percentages are based on the total number of actions.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPONENTS OF ACTION

The present chapter of our report will be devoted to an examination of various modes of activity: speech, action and merit. These may be defined in the following terms:

- a) Speech is the declaration of an intention to act; it implies the speaker's committal to action and represents thus a species of intervention in the situation as it exists.
- b) Action itself is the actualizing process whereby intention is translated into tangible fact.
- c) Merit, so far from being passive, denotes the recognition of past speeches or actions.

It will be remembered that, whereas in the previous chapter we distinguished between active and passive modes of behaviour, in the present chapter we shall endeavour to analyze only those events in which the feminine subject appears in an active or dynamic capacity.

At the outset, let us review the various forms that the activity of the feminine subject can take, proceeding thence to a more detailed description of the diverse modes of each form of action.

1. Mode of activity

All in all, about three-quarters of all news items referring to active behaviour by the feminine subject deal with action in the most restrictive sense of the term. The remaining number is equally divided between items concerning merit and speech. The simplicity of this overall distribution notwithstanding, there are significant and pronounced differences between the relative frequency with which these modes of activity appear in newspapers addressed to different social milieux.

The question of which modes of action will predominate depends much less on the level of industrialization than on the nature of the cultural milieu. Thus, the proportional importance of news items dealing with action and with speech reflects a polarity of emphasis along social lines: action is overwhelmingly favoured in the popular sector, while speech appears to predominate in publications addressed to an intellectual readership. A superficial interpretation of these correlations may lead one to conclude that our intelligentsia is afflicted with a chronic case of verbosity whereas the popular sector prefers concrete actions to eloquent phrases. But before coming to such a conclusion, one may do well to recall that the majority of the actions reported in the popular press are conformist in nature and only on rare occasions innovative. On the other hand, the verbal actions characteristic of an intellectual milieu seldom take the form of criticism, social discussion or protest, which are the prime movers of evolution and change.

Merit

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
100	100	100
General	Regional	Metropolitan
10	French 15 English 20	French 15 English 8

Speech

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
7	19	10
General	Regional	Metropolitan
10	French 27 English 8	French 18 English 10

Action

Tabloid	General circulation	Elite
100	50	31
General	Regional	Metropolitan
50	French 60 English 76	French 68 English 76

Merit seldom provides material for news in the popular (working-class) periodical press, while newspapers catering to rural readerships place less emphasis on speech than do those intended for consumption by urban audiences.

A comparison of the frequencies with which the various modes of activity are represented in the English- and in the French-language press also yields interesting and significant differences. The Canadian woman of British extraction, unlike her Latin compatriot of Quebec, appears as a person of relatively few words -- and this generalization holds especially true of the English-Canadian country-dweller. Are we confronted here with an instance of English pragmatism? Perhaps; yet, what has been said of the popular, tabloid press also applies here: the actions reported in English-language newspapers are often conformist in nature (more often so than in the French-language press), while innovative actions tending to precipitate social change are commensurately infrequent.

The tendency of the period from 1954 to 1967 has been to make these ethnic and cultural differences, if anything, more pronounced than they had been previously. To judge from the evidence of periodicals in both languages, the French-Canadian woman has become more verbal than ever, while her English-Canadian sister has become less.

The great emphasis on speech in the French-Canadian milieu, especially among the ranks of the elite, undoubtedly indicates a new consciousness both of the social predicament of women and of the needs and aspirations of the community generally. A more detailed analysis of the actual content of the three fundamental modes of activity -- merit, speech and action -- will further illuminate the nature and direction of this new social consciousness.

2. The nature of merit

This category of actions appears to present neither any highly characteristic pattern of distribution nor any notable tendency in the periodical press, apart from the fact that it is infrequently found in articles printed in working-class newspapers. Be this as it may, it is interesting to inquire what the precise nature of this category of actions is as we find it in newspaper reports. Two questions come to mind in this respect: first, is the recognition of the subject's merit expressed by her appointment or election to a responsible post in an association, or is it conveyed by her receiving

some honorary distinction, such as a prize or award? Secondly, whatever the answer to the preceding question may be, is the association which either makes the appointment or confers the honorary distinction on the subject one with an exclusively feminine membership or with a membership representative of both sexes?

In the following table of statistical distributions, no attempt has been made to distinguish among periodicals on the basis of type, ethnic group or locality. The frequencies given are based on a comprehensive analysis of all publications, since the scarcity of data makes their further break-down impracticable.

Table - Nature of merit, according to years

Year	Association conferring the appointment or honour	Honour		Appointment		Total
		Feminine	Mixed	Feminine	Mixed	
1957		10.7	4.4	11.2	20.7	15.1
1954		11.2	7.7	5.1	10.1	13.7

a) Honour or appointment

In the case of one out of three news items, the article contains a public announcement of the fact that a certain woman has been appointed to a post of responsibility within an association. This proportion compares favourably with that prevailing in the 1954 newspapers where only one out of five news items involving merit made such announcements. Indeed, there is clear evidence here of the increasing degree of feminine participation in various walks of Canadian life. If the thesis propounded by Betty Friedan may be accepted as indicative of American experience, there is no corresponding tendency in the U.S.A. towards the increasing social engagement of women.

b) Feminine or mixed membership

Both the positions to which female subjects are appointed and the honorary distinctions which are conferred upon them emanate for the most part from associations with mixed memberships rather than from exclusively feminine organizations. The ratio here is in the order of two to one, with little change since 1954.

3. The object of speech and action

Let us now pursue further our description of feminine activity,

this time from the point of view of its content and object. When the voice of women makes itself heard in the press, is it concerning other people or things, the family or society at large that it speaks? Again, when feminine intervention takes the more positive form of action, is the activity oriented towards objects or persons, groups and associations or the whole of society? Our analysis of both these modes of activity will be made in terms of the following categories:¹

1. Objects, both natural (such as plants and animals) and artificial (such as the products of art and technology);
2. Private individuals, including the subject herself and other persons;
3. Family life, including the preoccupations and concerns of life in the home;
4. Women, as a distinct group in its own right with problems and potentials proper to itself; what we might call the feminine condition;
5. Groups, including private associations of every kind pursuing a variety of specific ends;
6. Society itself, whether defined in regional, provincial or national terms, or at the level of the international community.

The object of our analysis will be to determine how the total number of speeches and actions (and there are 158 of the one and 879 of the other respectively) are distributed in terms of the above categories. Since the quantity of data at our disposal is limited, no attempt will be made to introduce any discriminations on the basis of region; it will suffice for us to seize the principal differences and the general tendencies revealed by our statistics. By contrast, our analysis of action, involving as it does 1134 instances, can be more detailed.

As far as our study of speech is concerned, we shall base our comparison on the totality of such items in two English-language newspapers of wide Ontario circulation (The Toronto Star and the London Free Press) and in two comparable French-Canadian publications (La Presse and Le Soleil). Because of the high incidence of such items in Le Devoir, an intellectual elite periodical, we shall furthermore include it in our survey.

¹ For a clearer idea of what each of these categories entails, the reader may consult the appropriate list in the appendix.

a) Speech: subjects of discussion

Table - Subjects of discussion analyzed
- according to cultural and ethnic milieu

	English	French	French	Total of instances	
	Gen. Circ.	Gen. Circ.	Intellectual	1927	1944
1. Objects	31.7%	14.4%	11.1%	16.2%	36.2%
2. Individuals	5.2%	43.7%	25.5%	24.7%	34.1%
3. Family life	12.1%	7.2%	11.1%	11.2%	14.4%
4. Women	14.2%	10.4%	30.4%	16.7%	14.4%
5. Groups	3.2%	3.7%	1.5%	2.4%	4.5%
6. Society	37.4%	22.7%	39.0%	27.4%	24.4%
Total of instances	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

^aThis total includes periodicals not represented in the preceding columns. /

One fact is clear: there is a great emphasis in French-language newspapers in general circulation on speeches dealing with the private lives of individuals. This is so especially in La Presse where 58% of the speeches reported concern this subject. By contrast, the opposite tendency is observable in the case of English-language periodicals; statements bearing reference to private life and concerns appear infrequently in the news, proportionally more weight being given to those bearing on social affairs. Le Devoir, for its part, seems to give frequent accounts of speeches dealing with the condition of women; and it may be recalled in this connection that, of all periodicals, Le Devoir is the one with the greatest number of news items tending to minimize the inequality of the sexes. In a word, Le Devoir appears to be the most sympathetic of all newspapers to the feminist cause. Feminine readers will note with some satisfaction that not less than 30% of women's speeches reported in the press generally concern social problems, followed in descending order by those bearing on the private lives of individuals, on the condition of women and on family life. (The category entitled "group" may more appropriately be studied

with reference to actions than words. Our sole reason for retaining this category here was to permit the reader to make cross-comparisons readily.)

The interval between 1954 and 1967 reveals no significant tendencies either in the press generally or in any particular sector.

Let us now briefly turn our attention to an investigation of the character of feminine statements in the press.

b) The character of feminine statements in the press

The question must now be asked: to what extent do the words of feminine speakers cited in periodicals reveal an attitude of commitment or participation, on the one hand, and of neutrality or non-commitment, on the other? To what extent do they convey information or give expression to sentiments? Of those speeches which reveal an attitude of commitment, how many are critical of things as they are and how many contain statements either advocating or defending new ideas?

In order to provide answers to these questions, we regrouped our data into the following types: neutral statements and committed statements, subdividing the latter into two subordinate kinds: the first, those advocating novel ideas, and the second, those supporting them. This division of our subject matter may be justified in view of the importance of speech in bringing about or in hastening the process of social transformation. Moreover, we shall resume in this section our comparisons along ethnic and cultural lines as well as our study of tendencies of development.

Discourse is more frequently expressive of some form of social commitment in the French-Canadian milieu than it is in the English-Canadian setting. The Canadian woman of British extraction, already less verbal than her French-language counterpart, expresses herself in neutral terms in seven out of ten cases. By contrast, critical statements occur with similar frequencies in both cultural contexts, and account for approximately 50% of all verbal acts.

If we measure the dynamic force of pronouncements in the periodical press of each of the two cultures, there emerges a further significant distinction between them. Indeed, only 5% of all statements reported in the English-language press expose novel ideas; the propor-

Table - The character of feminine statements,
in accordance with ethnic and cultural milieux

	English		French		Average		Total of cases	
	1967, 1968		1954, 1955		1967-1968			
	1967	1968	1954	1955	1967	1968	1967	1968
Neutral	17.8	21.2	27.2	28.0	14.2	21.2	58.7	71.2
Committed:								
Artistic	20.9	19.3	27.2	17.7	20.7	20.7	19.0	25.5
Expressing new ideas	3.5	9.5	12.8	6.1	12.8	0.0	11.9	5.3
Number of cases	111	107	117	121	111	100	119	127

tion of such statements in the French-language press in general circulation is 13% while, in the case of Le Devoir, it reaches a high of 18%. Here, once again, is clear evidence of the dynamism of the French-Canadian woman and of the fidelity with which Le Devoir reflects this quality.

A tendential analysis of the data reveals movement towards greater commitment in speech, above all in the French-language press; by contrast to statements printed in 1967, those appearing in the 1954 periodicals were lacking in dynamism and in

c) Action: ~~the most active type~~

Having disposed of the analysis of speech and of merit, two of the three modes of activity commonly reported in periodicals, we may now turn to the analysis of action itself, in the most restrictive sense of the term. Since action constitutes the most numerous category of all (1154 cases), a more detailed analysis of it could be made than of the two other modes of activity treated.

As in our analyses of speech and merit, the first question which we must ask here is, towards what objects is action most often directed: things, persons, the family, the condition of women, groups or society.

Considered in their totality, the feminine actions reported in periodicals are most frequently oriented towards individual persons, either the doers themselves or others. Be this as it may, there is

much variation in the emphasis placed on this species of action from one periodical to the next, with the frequency ranging from a mere 6% to a strong 67%. Indeed, these different proportions provide a valuable and reliable index of the cultural level of the publications in question.

Actions oriented towards individuals,
according to milieux, 1967

Index	Regional Orientation	Metropolitan
6%	52.6	35.1
67%	Regional	Metropolitan
	French 35.1 English 36.0	French 52.6 English 49.7

The tendency towards personalizing the news is most pronounced in the case of lower-class publications and decreases in inverse proportion with the cultural level of the periodical readership. It is for all practical considerations nonexistent in rural settings but becomes increasingly obvious in regional and metropolitan milieux, both in English- and in French-language newspapers.

No fewer than one action in every five bears directly on objects, a category which, let us remember, includes artistic creation of all kinds. (Art is, in fact, the principal constituent of the section.) At the lower end of the scale we find Montréal Matin, exhibiting very weak frequencies for this type of activity. But what is truly surprising is the widely disproportionate emphasis given to artistic creation in Le Soleil and The London Free Press. Whereas no fewer than 45% of the actions reported in the Quebec City newspaper deal with art, the proportion of similar articles in the London periodical is a mere 7%.

Events which form the subject of news items only rarely include action oriented towards the family, except in the case of Chatelaine magazine, both in its English- and French-language editions. Here, approximately one-fourth of all feminine actions reported are domestic in their orientation.

Groups, as such, are seldom the objects of action; what interests us here, however, is above all the proportional frequency of actions oriented towards society as a whole as against those directed towards the female community exclusively.

Actions oriented towards the female
community and towards society
(100% = total of actions)

Female

Tabloid	General circulation	Intellectual
4.2	6.0	14.1
French	English	French
4.1	36.6	6.0
		4.1

Society

Tabloid	General circulation	Intellectual
4.2	6.0	14.1
French	English	French
9.6	8.1	7.2
	4.6	7.2

All things considered, feminine action is seldom directed towards society as a whole, the proportion of articles describing such action being lower in Le Devoir than it is even in the rural and the regional press. These figures challenge comparison with those describing the objects of masculine action. Fifteen percent of the feminine actions reported are oriented towards the female community as an entity distinct from society as a whole, this orientation being particularly important in the rural setting and in the region of London where it accounts for approximately one-third of all actions.

Three facts emerge from a comparison of feminine actions in 1954 and 1967: (1) a diminution in the number of actions oriented towards the female community; (2) an increase in the number of actions centring on objects generally and on artistic creation in particular; and (3) a decrease in the French-Canadian press in the number of actions oriented towards individuals.

d) The character of feminine actions

Action, as speech, may be neutral in character, or it may be engaged either in controversy or in creation.

Neutral action

Tabloid	General circulation	Intellectual
50.4	46.0	50.1
Regional	Regional	Metropolitan
44.7	French 31 English 78.5	French 46 English 52.7

Controversy

Tabloid	General circulation	Intellectual
7.2	10.5	5.4
Regional	Regional	Metropolitan
6.7	French 5.4 English 8.4	French 10.5 English 11

Creation

Tabloid	General circulation	Intellectual
31.5	41.2	43.4
Regional	Regional	Metropolitan
9.6	French 65 English 16.1	French 43.4 English 36.3

In 54% of all cases, feminine actions are neutral in character, albeit this proportion varies appreciably according to cultural milieu. It need no longer surprise us that in lower-class newspapers neutral actions are in overwhelming predominance, while the converse is true of intellectual publications. In the latter, no less than 70% of all actions reported represent some form of commitment, either to the pursuit of some creative objective or (in 26% of the cases) to participation in some controversy. The high frequency of controversial actions may come as something of a surprise to the reader, since, all

things considered, periodical journalism does not generally put forth the image of women as engaged in serious struggle for any definite social objective. Far more frequently, the feminine commitment reported is in the form of some artistic activity, and this is particularly true of the Quebec periodical Le Soleil.

Within the English-Canadian setting, action (as speech) tends to be more often neutral in orientation than it does in the French-Canadian press.

A comparison of newspaper reports published in 1954 with those appearing in 1967 reveals a general upsurge in the number of active commitments and a proportional decline in the frequency of neutral actions. The only notable exception to this rule is a Montreal tabloid which offered its readers a more neutral (not to say, dull) image of feminine action in 1967 than it had done in 1954.

Conclusion

Insofar as original discourse is preferable to the repetition of popular or commonplaces, and positive action is to be preferred to action neutral in orientation, the trend of development between 1954 and 1967 has undoubtedly been a favourable one. The period has seen an increased emphasis on novel ideas and constructive activity in Canadian periodicals generally, and particularly in newspapers published in the French language. As far as English periodicals are concerned, progress has been somewhat less impressive: the speeches reported are more often neutral and the actions described more frequently static, although more consistently social in orientation. Within the French-Canadian milieu itself, newspapers catering to intellectual readerships have made great strides in presenting the feminine subject increasingly in an attitude of social commitment and of positive participation in the world in which she lives. It is indisputable that this development owes much to an increase in the level of education and income of women; but it is equally clear that there exists no necessary causal connection between the two phenomena. In certain circumstances, increased leisure can bring

other, less desirable, consequences in its train: it can encourage ~~the tendency to pass the time in a state of passive idleness, to waste~~ their free time without purpose, to withdraw into the isolation of private life and to develop an attitude of social passivity. If the tendencies that we have observed in the recent periodical press are truly indicative of feminine aspirations, then, evidently, withdrawal and passivity will not be the privileged choice of women. Their preferences are clear; and it is up to society to provide the conditions in which these aspirations may become reality.

In the preceding chapters, we have attempted to characterize the female subject by her doings and actions. It now remains for us to define her personal characteristics, by synthesizing the many prismatic indications afforded by periodicals into a single composite image. The manner in which news items are usually presented in the daily press allows the reader to draw a certain number of accurate inferences concerning the personal traits of subjects: their nationality, origin, civil status and degree of familiarity to the public can usually be established without difficulty. Before we describe these qualities of the subject, however, it will be well for us to define the subject herself as an agent in her own right. It must, first of all, be clearly understood that the subject of a news item is not always necessarily an isolated individual. Apart from acting in her own person, a woman may function as the female partner of a man, as the member of some organization, in concert with other individuals in a group. Indeed, the subject of a news item may not be an individual at all but a group or association. We shall therefore first investigate the nature of the female agent (whether corporate or individual), basing our calculations on the totality of active and passive instances of behaviour as previously defined in Chapter III.

1. Nature of the social subject

Viewed in this context, the various categories of agents are easy enough to define:

- a- Independent agent, that is to say, a female individual acting as such in her own name and on her own behalf;
- b- Female partner in a pair, where the actual subject of the action is the couple made by husband and wife;
- c- Group of individuals accomplishing an action the significance of which remains personal, the action concerning each individual of the group personally;
- d- Person acting on behalf of an organization, in the capacity of a representative or delegate. The organization in question may be a voluntary association with mixed or exclusively feminine membership, an undertaking, government service

or any other social group, more or less formally structured;
e- Voluntary female association, possessing a social identity and special area of activity of its own.

Two-thirds of all news items involving female subjects concern women as individual agents acting on their own behalf. The proportion of individual action actually increases with the level of urbanization, and this is equally so in an urban French-Canadian setting and in the English-Canadian milieu where it attains a high of 84% in the heavily industrial environment of Toronto. By contrast, in the case of regional newspapers, such as the London Free Press, the proportion of individual action is only one half of all actions reported -- a proportion corresponding to that of similar news items in rural French-Canadian newspapers. Other categories of female subjects are relatively less important -- possibly because our classification distinguishes between women acting for personal motives and those acting still as individuals but in the name of organizations having independent existence. Table A 11 hereto appended will clearly show the comparative frequencies with which the various categories of feminine agents appear in the periodical press.

Group action displays a significant variation depending on the cultural milieu to which the diverse publications surveyed are addressed. From a frequency of only 10% in working-class newspapers, it can range as high as 26% in periodicals intended for an intellectual readership. Social intervention by group action is, accordingly, a more common feature of intellectual publications; it is at the educated levels of society that the main impulse to concerted communal action resides. The only conclusion that we can draw from this is that the more highly educated the women the more likely they are to resort to this form of social intervention. As for women in a rural environment, here, too, there is a distinct tendency to act in groups, even though, as one might expect, rural women's organizations are along more traditional lines than their urban counterparts. Nonetheless, these organizations do represent a source of social dynamism to be reckoned with; with their well-established structures, they may well be used to initiate programmes of social change and improvement.

A tendential analysis of behavioural patterns indicates a general trend towards increased individualization. In the cases of all perio-

ditionals analyzed (except Montréal matin, which reported no private feminine action in 1954), there is a marked diminution in the number and importance of organized actions.

The subject of action, according to milieux
(100% = total number of news items dealing with individuals and behaviour)

Individual action
(Category a)

Individual	General public	Other
100	100	100
Area	Regional	Metropolitan
50	French 74 English 47	French 74 English 47

Private action
(Categories a, b, c)

Individual	General public	Other
100	100	100
Area	Regional	Metropolitan
70	French 82 English 62	French 82 English 62

Group action
(Categories d, e)

Individual	General public	Other
20	10	10
Area	Regional	Metropolitan
1	French 10 English 50	French 10 English 50

This finding, significant as it is, may lend itself equally well to a positive and to a negative conclusion. We may interpret it as a sign of the growing liberty of women to express themselves freely in their own persons, and we may see it, in turn, as a symptom of increasing withdrawal into private life, a progressive disengagement from organizations that can contribute to the development and ef-

fective functioning of society. Which of these alternative conclusions is valid, our data, unfortunately, do not enable us to say; all that they permit us to do is to establish the existence of a social fact.

2. Fame or notoriety of the subject

The question that concerns us here is the following: to what extent are the female subjects of news items famous or known to the reading public? For what reason do they enjoy a public reputation? Four categories of subjects may be distinguished under this heading:

- a- celebrities, a very comprehensive category including at once royalty, aristocrats, movie stars, noted athletes and sports-women, and the wives of famous people;
- b- personalities, that is, women who (without actually being public celebrities of the first magnitude) nonetheless enjoy a degree of public recognition by reason either of their professional activity or their role in groups operating on a provincial, national or international scale;
- c- everyday women, that is, all those normally known only to a relatively small circle of acquaintances; and, finally,
- d- groups, here classified under a single heading because of the comparative scantiness of our sample, were nevertheless distinguished into those of local, regional, provincial, national and international magnitude.

The use of celebrities as material for news is quite widespread in periodicals in general circulation, such items accounting for approximately one third of all individuals mentioned (45% in the case of La Presse). At the opposite end of the scale, unknown women (who may always have dreamt of seeing their names in print) make up another one-third of the total (see Table A 22).

Apart from the difference in the degree of fame that they enjoy, celebrities may be distinguished from personalities in that the former are frequently passive and owe their positions either to their birth, or to the status of their husbands, or to their being stars in the common sense of the term, and thus the objects

of professionally managed publicity. Personalities, on the contrary, are usually individuals who have in some way through their own efforts merited the reputation that they enjoy. If we compare the distributional frequencies with which female glamour stars and public personalities appear in publications aimed at different cultural levels, we are forced to conclude that here, once again, the working-class newspaper is at a distinct disadvantage in the quality of the feminine image emphasized in comparison with more intellectual newspapers. Women noted for some form of constructive activity are more often mentioned in publications addressed to a more intellectual, and more active, readership. As for periodicals catering to less educated audiences, the emphasis in these is plainly upon the glamour stars of the entertainment industry, their treatment taking the stereotyped gossip-column form of 'intimate' glimpses into their private lives.

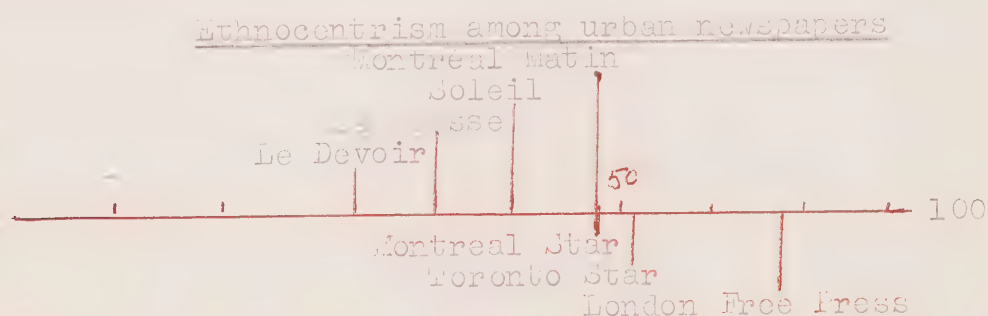
Type of reputation of the
social subject, 1967
(100% = totality of news items dealing with
individuals and behaviour)

Type of fame	Tabloid	General public	Elite
Stars			
Personalities	8	19	

In analyzing tendencies, we must keep in mind that group action generally is less frequently represented in 1967 than in 1954 newspapers, as we have remarked in a previous paragraph. The corresponding increase in the number of news items dealing with instances of private behaviour is divided equally between those devoted to stars and those actually concerning private and personal action. The question which we raised in the previous section regarding the tendency towards progressive individualization of action can be partially answered now: in the French-Canadian setting, emphasis on private behaviour has increased from 13% to 23%, while in the English-Canadian environment a similar growth has been recorded, from 7% to 15%. In both cases, the increase may be attributed to a greater consciousness of self among women.

3. Nationality of the social subject

Ethnocentrism, as one might expect, is more prevalent in a rural environment than in an urban milieu, while the exact opposite is true of cosmopolitan attitudes. In the city of Montreal itself, the three publications analyzed show a direct correspondence between the degree to which they manifest cosmopolitan attitudes and the cultural level of their respective readers. On the ethnic level, the English-language Montreal Star ignores to a point nothing short of outrageous the doings of French-Canadian women. Since, as we have already observed, the number of innovative and exceptional actions reported in La Presse and Le Devoir is impressive and since these actions could well furnish material for news items in the English-Canadian press, we can affirm with certainty that this omission on the part of the Montreal Star is a clear indication of an ingrained and serious bias. The results of a comparison of French- and English-language newspapers in general circulation are no more cheering: whereas 22% of the female subjects mentioned in La Presse and 18% of those in Le Soleil are English-Canadians, only 2% of all news items published in The Toronto Star and the London Free Press concern French-Canadians. These respective frequencies enable us to situate the various newspapers examined on an ethnocentric scale, according to the degree to which each of them reports events extrinsic to their own ethnic group. (Table A 23)



On comparing the records of the years 1954 and 1967, we remark a distinct tendency for urban values to penetrate the rural environment. This manifests itself in a slight growth of cosmopolitan attitudes in the rural French-Canadian press, though it brings with it no appreciable change in the attitudes of English-Canadian newspapers. By way of illustrating the gradual disappearance of rural isolation and parochialism, let us cite a simple statistic concerning the source of news items¹: whereas in 1954 almost all female subjects

¹ Since this variable involves a certain amount of repetitiveness, it was not included here, although it was measured.

mentioned in the pages of Terre de Chez Vous were of rural origin, in 1967 one-half the news items printed concerned women dwelling in an urban environment, that is to say, outside the milieu of the readers. One can only deplore that, in contrast to this, urban audiences do not appear to reciprocate the interest taken by rural readers in them. Although no doubt many events occurring in country districts are worthy of being reported, city newspapers tend by and large to ignore these potentially fertile sources of interest.

4. Civil status

What is the civil or marital status of the women who figure most frequently in the news? Are they married, widowed, separated or single? In asking these questions, we come very close to the crux of the problem primarily concerning us in this study: the status of women, traditionally caught up with domestic responsibilities and having little direct impact on the world beyond the confines of their homes. Approximately one third of all women mentioned in news items in the year 1967 were single -- a proportion which, during the last thirteen years, has shown an overall diminution of about 10%. The remaining two thirds of feminine subjects in newspapers were either married or (in the case of those separated or divorced) had once been married. (We may note in parentheses that the activities of women in religious life, representing 5% of the news in 1954, had diminished almost to the point of disappearance by 1967.) Does this picture show any significant variation according to the cultural level of the newspaper readers addressed? Hardly so. The only phenomenon worthy of notices here is that of the popular tabloid-type periodical: the women mentioned in these publications tend to be more frequently single, and there exists a distinct reticence in the case of these newspapers to expose married women to publicity. Typical of the tabloid^{also} is the attention devoted to celebrities of the movie-star variety, and these are relatively often referred to as 'Miss'. As for married women living in rural environments, since 1954, when they were less frequently mentioned in news items than their urban or metropolitan sisters, they have received an increasing degree of attention, until in 1967 the frequency of their appearance in the news has come to equal that of married women in cities. A comparison of English- and French-language publications reveals no significant differences in this respect. (See Table A 24)

Marital status of the female subject
according to milieu

Married or
formerly mar-
ried women

Tabloid	General public	
54.7%	64.0%	65.9%
62.8	French 64.5 English 64.9	French 64 English 63.1

5. Qualities implied in news items

From the characteristics that we have isolated so far there emerges already a partial reflection of the activities of the feminine subject. The analysis of news items permits us to add other characteristics to these, even though, by their nature, these additional qualities are more sporadic and unpredictable in their appearance. We are here at the mercy of journalistic selection, of the arbitrary choice which necessarily enters the business of newspaper reporting. Indeed, the inclusion of any particular trait in a news-item certainly indicates the wish of the reporter to emphasize that specific aspect of the subject. For the purposes of our analysis, we have retained a number of the more pertinent additional indications which news items occasionally provide of the feminine subject. They are the following: a) the age of the subject, which may be established either by express verbal description or by a photograph of the subject. Whenever this information is provided it will be included under one of the following sub-categories: adolescent (15-21 years of age), young woman (25-35 years of age), middle-aged woman (35-50 years of age), and elderly woman (55 years of age and over).

b) Certain physical qualities attributed to the subject. Since the characteristics figuring in this category are extremely diverse and account individually for only a very limited number of occurrences, we will simply record them without mentioning their respective frequencies. To do justice to this phase of our in-

vestigations, an intrinsic analysis of the material would be called for, and this alone would necessitate a study along radically different lines from the present.

c) Moral qualities, including all attributes other than those of a physical and of an intellectual nature associated with the subject.

d) Intellectual qualities expressly connected with the mental faculties and activities of the subject.

a) Age

From 50% to 75% of all news items dealing with female behaviour in English- and French-language periodicals of 1967 provided some indication of the age of the subject. More specifically, newspapers in the French language and catering to a general readership mentioned this particular in 75% of all cases, while the Montréal Matin, a working-class publication, was found to conform to this pattern, with 70%. By contrast, Le Devoir, a periodical intended for a more intellectual audience, placed far less emphasis on the age of women in the news (41%), agreeing in this practice with the rural newspaper (46%).

Taking the same period as our sample, we find much less frequent mention made of the age of the female subject in English-language newspapers. The percentages for these publications vary between 52% and 68% to yield an approximate average of 58%.

A comparative study of French-language newspapers published in 1954 and 1967 reveals an appreciable growth of interest in this particular, the average proportion of news items mentioning age having increased from 58% to 75%. During the same interval of time, the two English-language metropolitan dailies (The Montreal Star and The Toronto Star) have shown no comparable tendency to mention age either more or less frequently than before.

To sum up, we may say that age is generally more often mentioned in French- than in English-language newspapers; that there is tendency common to all periodicals to give the ages of women in certain age-groups more often than those of women in certain others, in this order: youthful, middle-aged, elderly and adolescent; and, lastly, that, considering the frequency with which it defines the age of its female subjects, Le Devoir places more emphasis on adolescents and elderly women than do all other periodicals.

b) Physical qualities

English- and French-language metropolitan newspapers showed little variation as to the frequency with which they provided physical descriptions of feminine subjects in 1967. The percentages, ranging from 12% to 14%, are comparable to those found in the case of working-class publications (15% for the Montréal Matin) and intellectual periodicals (10% for Le Devoir). On the whole, the regional press is somewhat more reticent to provide physical descriptions of its female subjects than are newspapers emanating from a metropolitan environment -- witness the case of Le Soleil (9%) and The London Free Press (4%).

The interval between 1954 and 1967 has seen an increase in the frequency of physical descriptions of women in all metropolitan newspapers and either a decrease or no change in the frequency with which such details have appeared in country newspapers.

c) Moral qualities

Approximately 18% of all news items concerning women published in the French-language general-circulation press contained some mention of the moral qualities of subjects in 1967. This average comes very close, indeed, to that prevailing in the intellectual journal (17%). By contrast, the pattern presented by Montréal Matin is more comparable to that of the English-language newspapers, where an overall average of 11% obtains. The only exception worth noting here is The London Free Press with its unusually low figure of 3%. The considerable discrepancy in this case may be attributed to the fact that an extraordinarily large number of the feminine news appearing in The London Free Press concerns groups of women, rather than individuals, and these items quite obviously do not lend themselves to moral characterization.

CHAPTER VI

ASPECTS OF INNOVATIVE ACTION

Our object in the present chapter is to analyze innovative actions as manifestations of social dynamism. Having already dealt with the distribution of innovative actions among the various periodicals surveyed for this study, we shall retain only the ethnic, French-English, dichotomy as a basis of comparison in this chapter. Our manner of proceeding will be to carry on the tendential analysis initiated in previous chapters with the purpose of discovering whether innovative actions tend, on the whole, to lay the emphasis on changes already observable in reported behaviour or whether, on the contrary, they tend to be at variance with it. We shall furthermore investigate how innovative actions stand in relation to the various milieux which we have distinguished according to degrees of industrialization and levels of cultural attainment. The present chapter will accordingly serve to summarize the most salient aspects of female behaviour in the news. As for our presentation, we shall deal with these aspects in the same order as we have done previously: treating the importance of the image first, we shall then consider the dimensions of the innovation, its forms and modalities and finally the characteristic of the innovating subject.¹

1. Importance of the image.

a) Length of news items.

In the introductory chapter of this study we noted that news material concerning the female subject accounted for a larger portion

Comparisons between the years 1954 and 1967 cannot be reliably made owing to the slight number of innovative actions in 1954 (42 in the French- and 56 in the English-language periodicals). For 1967, the analysis is based on 135 instances in French-language publications and on 98 in English-language newspapers.

of the periodical page in English- than in French-Canadian publications. This observation, applying equally to printed text and to photographic illustration, was later qualified by our discovery that there was a qualitative difference between the feminine contents of French- and English-language newspapers. The instances of feminine action reported on the latter tended, we found, to be, on the whole, more conformist in nature, less critical in attitude, and less committed in orientation than those comprised by the former. Moreover, recognizing that the length of news items was an indication of their supposed importance, we noted on comparing those in French and English periodicals that articles dealing with conformist behaviour averaged 7 inches in length in the latter as against only 5 1/2 in the former. Even though the average length of news items dealing with feminine innovation was found to be the same for both language-groups (12 inches), the tendency to conformity was, obviously, still greater in the English- than in the French-Canadian press.

With the English-Canadian press, there has occurred little change in the amount of space devoted to feminine news items. By contrast, the emphasis on such material has increased appreciably in the French-language newspapers as has also the emphasis on innovative action specifically. Both these tendencies are more pronounced in the case of elite-, than they are in the case of tabloid-type publications. (This last comparison takes into account both the number of articles and their length.) These statistical facts clearly reveal the growing importance of feminine action in Quebec society, at any rate inasmuch as events reported in the press can be taken as a direct reflection of reality.

b) The placement of news items in periodicals.

The effect of the increased dynamism of women is reinforced by a certain militancy of outlook. This, at least, is how we interpret the fact that in the French-language newspapers innovative feminine behaviour is most often reported in the women's sections.

It has already been established that, speaking of news items in general, there is a greater tendency in the French- than in the English-Canadian press to concentrate these in the women's sections of periodicals; that the degree of this concentration increases with the cultural level of the publication in question; and that there has,

in fact, been a slight but general increase in this concentration since 1954 in all French-language newspapers. By contrast, the editorial practice of English-Canadian periodicals appears to favour the dispersion of feminine news items throughout the entire newspaper, irrespective of sections, the concentration of items in special women's sections being proportionally less pronounced. Articles describing innovative actions appear to conform to the general pattern prevailing in the French-language press; hence it is that we are disposed to interpret it as an indication of feminine militancy.

Concentration of articles in women's sections, 1967
(100% = total of news per category)

Type of behaviour	French	English
Totality of news	30.40	25.00
Active behaviour	28	28
Innovative behaviour	21	28
Innovative behaviour: <u>Le Devoir</u>	22	—

Our interviews with the editors of women's sections have left us convinced that they are indeed very conscious of their roles and responsibilities to present to the public an image of women and of feminine participation in the transformation of our social environment.

2. The dimensions of innovative action.

In elaborating our conceptual scheme for this study, we distinguished three dimensions within which the various species of action -- innovative, exceptional or conformist -- may be placed.

Change. By definition, innovative action is one which seeks to ac-

comply with some change in the situation as it exists. Excellent or exceptional action is one which meets the highest requirements of the established norm but which (as conformist action) does not exceed it or contain an element of innovation.¹

Participation or personalization. Whether a certain action diverges from the social norm through being excellent or innovative, it may take either one of two directions: on the one hand, it may lead the subject to a fuller participation in the life of society, or it may, on the other, tend to promote the fuller development of his personal aptitudes. Now, as we have already remarked, innovation is often associated with participation, while excellent or exceptional actions are often personal in orientation, owing to the very nature of the material analyzed. This dimension (it will be recalled) has served us primarily to isolate conformist behaviour which, for its own part, is neutral in orientation.

The locale of the action. The three types of action previously defined may take place in any one of three possible contexts: first, within society as a whole; secondly, within one of the spheres of activity traditionally reserved for men in our culture; and thirdly, in an area of action defined by tradition as characteristically feminine. With which of these contexts is innovative behaviour usually associated? Is it different from the usual locale of conformist action? We shall attempt to answer these questions at greater length and determine more particularly in what sectors of activity innovative action is most frequently found.

a) The locale of activity.

Let us begin here by summarizing what we know. It has been previously established that in the French-language periodicals one-half of all the actions reported bear generally on society as a whole. Actions which represent an encroachment on traditionally masculine

¹ In his The Diffusion of Innovation (Free Press: Glencoe), p. 57, Everett Rogers has defined innovation as "an idea perceived as new" with reference to the norm. In the same work, the term "norm" is defined as "the most frequently occurring pattern of overt behaviour for the social system".

domains are proportionally more numerous in periodicals catering to more intellectual readers; in Le Devoir, these account for 16%, as against a mere 9% in the average newspaper. The actions reported in English-language newspapers (at any rate, in those enjoying a wide circulation) deal more often with feminine areas of concern. These actions, on the other hand, were far less numerous in 1967 than in 1954, in all publications surveyed.

Innovative actions are seldom found to concern traditional areas of feminine competence, this sector being more often associated with conformist behaviour.

Traditionally feminine activities
(100% = total number of actions, according to type)

Type of action	1954		1967	
	English	French	English	French
Innovative	20	25	10	5
Excellent	5	15	55	50
Conformist	75	60	35	45

Since innovative actions are comparatively less numerous within the traditional bounds of female activity, are we justified in assuming that they are oriented primarily towards the general concerns of society as a whole? This question must be answered in the negative. As is the case with actions in general, only 50% of those tending to innovation are social in orientation. The remaining number are devoted to efforts to bridge the social inequality of the sexes; it is, in fact, in this respect that we find the greatest difference between innovative and excellent action. On this level, the English-language publications reflect the image of an English-Canadian womanhood which though less frequently innovative than the French, advocates innovation in a less aggressive manner. Be this as it may, there is reason to believe that there are fewer and fewer areas of activity from which women are excluded by reason of their sex, for, as our survey has shown, news items relating that a certain individual was

c) The forms of innovative action

Earlier in this study, we introduced a distinction between various forms or modes of activity: speech, tangible realizations, and recognition for work previously accomplished. The question that we must now ask is whether innovative actions differ in their distribution into these three categories from the totality of actions. (Since the number of cases involving the recognition of merit is already slight, the study of the even scantier category of recognition for innovative actions seems impracticable.)

Before proceeding to investigate this question, we may do well to recall some of the facts which we have already established. We have seen that the French-Canadian woman tends to express herself verbally more often than her English-Canadian sister, and that she was comparatively more verbal in 1967 than in 1954. The tendency towards verbal modes of action has been found, furthermore, to increase with the level of cultural attainment. The pattern described here, typical as it is of all active behaviour in the French-Canadian setting, applies also specifically to innovative actions.

Modes of innovative action
= total of innovative actions)

Modes or forms of action			
	1967	1954	
Speech	23	15	10
Tangible realizations	18	10	10
Recognition of merit	1	1	10

It may be remarked that the speeches included in the above tabulation are always either critical or suggestive of new ideas, since neutral speech (so-called) merely lends weight to conformity.

We have already established that, in the French-Canadian setting, speech very often bears reference to individuals, either the speaker herself or another person. This personal orientation is virtually absent in the case of speeches presenting novel ideas where the object contemplated is usually either the group or the feminine condition itself.

Innovative accomplishments are, however, more numerous than speeches which merely express the speakers' intention to act in some novel manner. Previously in this study we have commented on the tendency of news items to become increasingly centred on individuals, either the subject or others, particularly in the urban and working-class milieux. As in the case of innovative speech, however, we find that innovative actions appear, for their own part, to contradict this general tendency. Activity of this kind is seldom aimed at the person, either in the English- or in the French-language newspapers; accomplishments which represent some form of innovation are very often group-oriented, more often so than other types of accomplishments. Activity of this type is, of course, never neutral by definition; it is creative and, insofar as it represents the substitution of something new in the place of what is conventional, it is controversial.

d) The innovating subject

In the foregoing section we have spoken of controversy, criticism, verbal and active forms of engagement. We must now ask to what extent innovative actions represent the private initiative of individuals and to what extent they spring from concerted group effort. The character of the innovating subject seems to us to be extremely important, for the impact and effect of the innovation itself on society must no doubt largely depend on it. Inasmuch as concerted group action is more effective than individual action, the social dynamism which it expresses is greater; yet, paradoxically, innovations initiated by groups become, by the very fact that they are collectively undertaken, instances of conformist behaviour. (By contrast, actions defined as excellent or exceptional are most often

individually initiated.)

Collective social subjects, according
to types of action
(100% = total of type)

Type of action				
Innovative	35%	40%		
Conformist				

In point of fact, it is the nature of the conformist subject that has undergone change: conformity, no longer a collective expression, has become much more individual. Paradoxically, therefore, the movement towards greater individualism in action noted in Chapter V merely connotes an increasing tendency towards conformist activity.

The ethnic origin of the innovating subject is the next topic of our enquiry. As a general rule, conformist behaviour tends, by its nature, to originate from within the ethnic group served by the periodical reporting it, for the object of reporting such actions is to permit the readers to recognize in them patterns of behaviour already familiar to them. By corollary, it follows that innovative actions are not likewise ethnically limited but may actually emanate from beyond the cultural environment of the readers. A further circumstance favouring this is the probability that new and revolutionary initiatives will be reported by nation-wide news agencies whereas conformist actions have, at best, local interest. We have already expressed regret at the indifference with which English-language newspapers treat the activities of French-Canadian women; indeed, in the circumstances, it is doubly regrettable that they show the same attitude of indifference to innovation in the French-Canadian milieu. Only 6% of the news printed in English-Canadian periodicals report innovative behaviour by French-Canadian women, as against 18% in the converse case.

It is hardly surprising that royalty, international stars, and the wives of famous individuals seldom figure among those credited with innovative behaviour. The chief contribution of such individuals to the news is of a more conventional nature and consists usually in the fulfillment of public roles generally expected of them. The initiation of innovative action is associated, rather, with recognized female personalities (45%) and with women otherwise unknown to the public.

Degree of fame of the innovating subject
(100% = total of innovative actions)

	<u>French</u>	<u>English</u>
Celebrities	100	100
Personalities	45	45
Individuals otherwise unknown	55	55

The last statistic cited in the above table is very impressive, for it shows that in a country not dominated by conformity the freedom to innovate is shared by everyone.

The situation would probably be quite different in certain under-developed countries where innovation is the prerogative of a relatively exclusive elite.

A greater percentage of feminine subjects in the year 1967 were either married or formerly married women than in 1954, with unmarried women accounting for only one-third of those mentioned in news items. This tendency favouring married women is even more pronounced in the case of innovative actions, for of all female innovators mentioned in periodicals only 16% were single in the French- and only 21% in the English-language press. Moreover, married women

contributed more innovative actions in 1967 than they had done in 1954, particularly in the French-Canadian press.

Marital status of innovating subjects

Marital status	French		English	
	1954	1967	1954	1967
Single women	25%	34%	11%	15%
Married women	55%	53%	78%	75%
Women in religious life	2%	2%	2%	5%
Group	23%	27%	29%	30%

Conclusion

The principal conclusions of our analysis of innovative behaviour have already been summarized in this chapter. It now remains for us to determine what our findings indicate about the nature of innovation as it is reflected in periodical literature. Is the image of the Canadian woman that emerges from newspaper accounts of daily events one of dynamism, involvement and activity? To provide a fully satisfactory answer to this question it would be necessary to undertake similar studies of the image of women in other countries by way of making comparisons possible. What is entirely clear from the present survey, however, is the reality and the extent of the change that has taken place in the Canadian image since 1954. The feminine actions

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CHAPTER VII
ADVERTISEMENTS

1. Advertising techniques

According to E. de Girardin's definition, the primary function of advertising publicity is the communication of information, pure and simple, concerning a product being offered for sale. Without denying the validity of this definition, people are often heard to assert that in recent years the trend in advertising has been increasingly away from factual representation and towards the use of non-rational arguments (that is to say, arguments having little to do with intrinsic quality) in projecting the images of products, brandnames and even of producers and consumers themselves.¹ To what extent advertising does, in effect, present factual information must accordingly be the first object of our investigations in surveying contemporary publicity literature.² The following observations, though based necessarily on a comparatively narrow selection of samples, may nevertheless be accepted as representative of promotional practices prevailing today.

To begin with, we may say that as a general rule there are very few advertisements indeed which make no representation whatever as to the intrinsic character of the products which they promote -- some scrap of 'factual' information, be it only the price of the products in question or the address at which they may be obtained, is almost invariably given. With the exception of only two newspapers (Perspectives and Le Soleil of whose advertisements some 40% and 10% respectively contain no intrinsic information at all), almost all promotional material in the press (i.e., from 93% to 100%) does include some such information.

¹ Advertising of this type relies heavily on the results of studies in "motivational research"

² Cf., item 5 c of the appended table. Advertisements were classified into three groups: (1) those which provided no information at all intrinsic to the product; (2) those which, though giving some such information, were chiefly devoted to statements extrinsic to the product; and lastly (3) those which contained principally or exclusively information intrinsic to the product promoted.

In the case of English-language newspapers, a large proportion of the advertising material appearing in their pages makes representations predominantly of the intrinsic kind. These newspapers differ radically from French-language periodicals where the prevailing practice of advertisers is to stress characteristics extrinsic to the products themselves, at the expense of their intrinsic characteristics. With the sole exception of Terre de Chez Nous, where the number of predominantly factual advertisements has declined, this pattern has remained relatively stable over the years, not changing to any appreciable degree between 1954 and 1967.

A survey of promotional advertising, accordingly, does not bear out the hypothesis that the claims of advertisers are increasingly imaginary and less and less factual in nature. Public information of one kind or another remains one of the essential ingredients of commercial announcements, and there is no evidence to suggest that the contrary is the case.

Be this as it may, undeniably promotional advertising does more than simply enumerate the objective characteristics of products. It uses certain specific techniques of its own to publicize both brand-names and products as well as to project an image of the intended consumer -- and it is at this point that the feminine image becomes a useful instrument of commercial publicity. By its nature, every advertisement has a connotative tone peculiar to itself: it may be fanciful or factual, humorous or erotic in its implication, and this implication in turn influences the quality of the image presented. In our preliminary survey of the subject we were led to discriminate four principal kinds of advertising technique, which may be defined as follows for purposes of this study: (a) the use of the slogan, that is to say, of a statement calculated to capture the attention of the public not by virtue of its truth but through its felicitous phrasing; (b) the use of supposedly authentic documentary evidence, whether in the form of pseudo-scientific statistics, high-sounding pseudo-technical terminology, or testimonials from satisfied users of the product, both private individuals and publicly known personalities; (c) the use of humour, where amusing or droll situations are presented in order to engage the interest of the public; and lastly (d) the use of eroticism, where something of the sexual magnetism of the model is transferred by association to the product promoted. What

concerns us in the present survey is, of course, not the content of commercial announcements but the relative frequency with which each of the techniques described above is utilized in advertising. Our aim is simply to determine whether any technique is used more frequently than any other by advertisers, particularly in the case of advertisements containing graphic representations of women.¹

Table 1. - Proportion of advertisements using different promotional techniques, based on the total of advertisements examined

Technique used	1954	1967
Slogan	17.5	19.6
Eroticism	5.6	18.2
Humour	2.2	10.8
Claim of authenticity	7.5	9.2

a) The slogan

"Simple comme bonjour" ["As simple as good morning"]
(newspaper advertisement, Le Devoir, 8-5-54)

"Weston, le boni des bonis" ["The best buy's Weston's!"]
(bread advertisement, Montréal Matin, 19-4-67)

"D'la soupe Aylmer, moi j'trouve ça bon!" ["Aylmer soups are just great!"]
(soup advertisement, Perspectives, 14-1-67)

"Lui y connaît ça" ["He knows it all right"]
(beer advertisement, Montréal Matin, 23-5-67)

Approximately 20% of all advertisements published in French-language newspapers in 1967 contained jingles or publicity slogans, with Le Soleil and Perspectives leading the way with 55% and 52%, respectively. By contrast, English-language newspapers in general circulation make much less frequent use of this advertising technique than does the totality of the French-language press ($P = 0.01$). In other words, English-Canadian advertisers seem far less attracted to the use of the slogan than their Quebec counterparts, at least in the case of advertisements involving representations of women.

¹ It may be pointed out that a single advertisement may use (a) various promotional techniques simultaneously or (b) none of the techniques mentioned in our analysis.

There was no clearly discernible trend in the use of publicity slogans between 1954 and 1967, the diversity being as marked in 1967 as it had been 13 years previously.

b) Claims of authenticity

Testimonials: "Mon T.V. a le 'new look' en T.V., dit Maurice Richard" ["My television set has the new look in sets," says Maurice Richard]
(television set advertisement, La Presse, 17-3-54)
"'Je n'endurais plus mon mari' écrit Mme A.W. d'après son expérience" ["'I could hardly stand having my husband around,' writes Mrs. A.W. following her experience"]
(patent medicine advertisement, La Presse, 17-3-54)

Pseudo-science: "Le Conseil national de la recherche recommande 75 mg. par jour" ["The National Research Council recommends the use of 75 mg. each day"]
(vitamin pill advertisement, Terre de Chez Nous, 1-2-67)

"Les études médicales révèlent qu'une grande partie du public souffre d'une déficience de calcium"
["Medical studies show that many people suffer from calcium deficiency"]
(patent medicine advertisement, Terre de Chez Nous, 1-2-67)

All in all, claims of authenticity are less often used in advertising than promotional slogans. In 1967, the technique accounted for only 10% of all advertisements published in the three newspapers which utilized it most often. Although in 1954 the approach was much more frequently taken in French- than in English-language advertisements, the difference has by and large disappeared. One remarkable exception is the spectacular increase in the use of this advertising technique in the pages of two French-language newspapers: Terre de Chez Nous (from 6% to 27%) and Montréal Matin (from 0% to 40%). The growth here can probably be ascribed to the fact that the technique is one especially favoured by manufacturers of "health products," who are anxious to reach the rural public (having less access to drug-stores) and sportsmen (interested in keeping fit).

c) Humour

"Cellophane shows what it protects and protects what it shows"
(Cellophane advertisement, Revue Moderne, 2-54)

"Si vous commencez à voir le 'complete de pamplemousse', il est temps que vous essayiez la mousse à l'ananas Diet de Luxe" ["If grapefruit is beginning to give you a complex, it's time you tried Diet de Luxe pineapple mousse!"]
(food product advertisement, Chatelaine, 3-67)

"Gourmandise bien ordonné commence par soi-même" ["Good eating begins at home"].
(food product advertisement, Perspectives, 11-11-67)

Humour is relatively seldom encountered in advertising, except in the pages of Perspectives where some 33% of all advertisements published in 1967 were humorous in tone. On the other hand, the proverbial English sense of humour seems to find little outlet in commercial promotion -- certainly, there is little enough evidence of it in the English-language press which trails behind its French-language counterpart in this respect.

With the French-language newspapers, the use of humorous advertising has been on the increase in all dailies except La presse, where the proportion has remained relatively unchanged. By contrast, the technique has gained considerable ground in the daily Le Soleil as well as in the magazines Perspectives and Chatelaine (French).

d) Eroticism

"Le soulier qui fait tourner les têtes. Est-ce le soulier ... ou l'homme?" ["The shoes that make them turn around for a second look. Is it the shoes ... or the man?"]
(shoe advertisement, Perspectives, 18-3-67)

"Si une simple pomme a su tenter Adam ... Quelle tentation!" ["If Adam was tempted by a mere apple ... what a temptation!"]
(cake-mix advertisement, Chatelaine, 9-67)

On the average, one in every five advertisements is erotic in implication. In the year 1967, the relative frequency of the erotic element in advertising oscillated between 7% and 35% in the French-language press: proof that eroticism, although much-used in some quarters as an advertising technique, has not been fully accepted in others. Almost invariably, the erotic is used to project an atmosphere of mystery or excitement onto the product advertised. Its use is much more restricted in the English newspapers, particularly those published in country districts.

In 1954, the use of erotic elements in advertising was virtually negligible. Since then it has come to be increasingly exploited, particularly in the French-language press, with the most spectacular growth occurring in Jeune de Jack Houa, Le Soleil, Perspectives, and the French Chatelaine.

To sum up: while all commercial advertising contains some information concerning the product promoted, publicity appearing in the English-language newspapers is, generally speaking, more factual and informative than that published in the French-language press. Conversely, however, the latter makes more use of other methods of appealing to the potential consumer, drawing on motivations of a different order in what Dichter has called its "strategy of wants".

The two advertising techniques most commonly utilized -- humour and eroticism -- have exhibited over the years somewhat similar tendencies. Whereas, in 1954, both these approaches were seldom employed in the promotion of products, by 1967 they had become important instruments of commercial advertisement, particularly in the French-language periodicals. It is in the context of these advertising techniques that the use of the feminine image must be examined.

2. Products advertised

The question must now be asked: what particular kinds of products is the feminine image most often used to promote? In order that we may answer this question, the following classification of merchandise was adopted:

Products for personal use:

-- by men or by individuals of either sex: clothes, underwear, cosmetics and pharmaceuticals;

-- by women: clothes, underwear, cosmetics and pharmaceuticals.

Products for the use of the family

Sporting goods and entertainment products

Miscellaneous products.

Both in 1954 and in 1967, the type of merchandise most often promoted through the use of the feminine image was sporting goods and entertainment products. For every one hundred advertisements analysed no fewer than twenty-eight were found to be dealing with this class of articles. Hence we may conclude that among advertisers the female sex is predominantly associated with entertainment and leisure -- at least insofar as one may judge from the nature of advertised products. The highest frequency of such advertisements in 1967 was encountered in Le Devoir, with the English-language newspapers not di-

Table 2. - Types of products promoted,
based on the total of advertisements

Type of products		1954 %	1967 %
Products for personal use:			
- by men or by individuals of either sex	Clothing, under- wear	2.1	1.5
	Cosmetics and pharmaceuticals	7.2	7.2
- by women	Clothing	11.7	16.5
	Underwear	1.9	3.0
	Cosmetics	11.3	13.2
	Pharmaceuticals	2.7	4.2
Products for family use		23.7	13.5
Sporting goods and enter- tainment products		28.0	28.1
Miscellaneous products		11.4	12.8
		100.0	100.0

verging in this respect from the French to any statistically significant degree. In the interval between 1954 and 1967, periodicals in both languages (especially French) have shown a palpable increase in the number of advertisements of this kind. This has been true of all but two periodicals-- Montréal Matin and the French Chatelaine -- where the tendency has been in the opposite direction of diminution, from 71% to 38% and from 19% to 4%, respectively. Chatelaine magazine, in particular, has come increasingly to specialize in advertising products for female consumption, such as clothing, underwear and pharmaceutical and health products.¹

Apart from sporting goods and articles of entertainment, the three classes of merchandise most often promoted by means of the feminine image are products for the use of the family, women's clothes

¹ One notes, at the same time, a rather curious drop in the number of advertisements promoting women's cosmetics (from 27% to 16%). (The probability of error is less than 0.10 here.)

and feminine cosmetics. In advertising this assortment of merchandise, promoters clearly make use of the feminine image in order to orientate their publicity towards the intended consumer. The graphic representation of women in advertisements of this sort accordingly supplements or takes the place of description. Three further facts may be noted here: 1) the use of pictorial illustrations of women to promote a greater variety of products; 2) the tendency to rely on such representations less heavily than before in advertisements of family products. In this respect, there has been a 10% drop in the utilization of the feminine image, the highest frequency of this application occurring in women's magazines. Here, once again, the object of using such illustrations seems to be to identify the intended consumer. 3) There has been an increase in the number of advertisements promoting products for consumption by women, particularly articles of clothing. The increase has been most spectacular in the case of the rural weekly newspaper Terre de Chez Nous, where the proportion of cosmetics advertisements has risen from 0 to 34% of the total. This phenomenon appears to confirm the validity of our previous hypothesis, that it is through the newspapers and magazines that the rural population seeks to emulate urban standards of beauty. A similarly impressive increase may be noted in the case of advertisements of pharmaceuticals and health products (from 0 to 12%), many of these having cosmetic functions themselves, such as reducing diets, etc. The gradual process of urbanization in rural districts, already commented on in our study of female behaviour, is in evidence here too: it is primarily through the mass media, and in particular through newspapers, that the accepted criteria of life in metropolitan regions are transmitted to and publicized in the rural environment.

In conclusion, four types of products are most often promoted through the use of the feminine image: articles of entertainment, family products, women's clothes and, lastly, cosmetics for women. English-Canadian newspapers and periodicals do not differ appreciably in this respect from their French-language counterparts in the Province of Quebec. Between the years 1954 and 1967, moreover, we

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note a decrease in the number of 'family' products and an increase in the number of products for women promoted by means of the feminine image, the proportion of entertainment products advertisements remaining the highest and practically unchanged. Assuming that the use of the feminine image in the promotion of certain classes of merchandise denotes the association (conscious or otherwise) of certain areas of activity with women, we may therefore conclude that, in the minds of advertisers, women continue to be associated with pleasure (i.e., entertainment products). Whereas, in 1954, there existed a strong association between the feminine image and the home (i.e., products for domestic use), this association, by 1967, had yielded to one emphasizing the physical attractiveness of women, a fact borne out by the use of the feminine image in advertisements of cosmetics and clothing.

3. Attributes associated with products

In studying the function of the feminine image in advertising, we must also ultimately examine the image of the products promoted, since things advertised and the means whereby they are publicized are intimately interrelated. The two images, indeed, must not only agree in their attributes and their general connotations of value; to make good advertising copy, they should reinforce one another and set each other off to the greatest advantage. In effect, the image created around women as instruments of publicity has precisely the same commercial function as that created around the products themselves: with both, the attempt is to present to the viewer a means of identification whereby he will come to admire, to wish for, and ultimately to purchase the product. In examining the public images of products, we are thus, in the final analysis, concerned with shedding light on the image of women as the latter is used in promoting the former. It is in this context and with this intention in mind that we have prepared the following synoptic analysis of the various attributes explicitly associated by advertisers with the products they advertise.

Table 3. - Proportional frequencies of attributes of advertised products explicitly mentioned in advertisements, expressed **in** percentages

Attributes	1954	1967
Quality	62.9	57.5
Originality	53.2	48.6
Beauty, elegance	36.9	42.6
Economy	41.4	40.8
Novelty	37.6	31.6
Handiness	29.5	29.7
Efficiency	25.6	29.2
Utility	23.4	26.9
Convenience, comfort	21.1	23.7
Speed	23.6	18.9
Luxury	17.5	18.3
Durability	16.5	17.6
Smoothness	30.4	13.8
Safety	19.2	13.3
Healthfulness	10.7	9.6
Sex appeal	3.2	9.4

The attributes most frequently mentioned are quality, originality, beauty and economy.

Emphasis on the high quality of advertised products is general for all newspapers and periodicals, although it is less pronounced in the case of rural weeklies and dailies with an intellectual readership. By contrast, quality is a claim very frequently made in all English-Canadian periodicals ($P = 0.01$). Likewise, the attribute of originality, though somewhat less often mentioned than quality is

in the French periodicals, has a very high rate of incidence in English-Canadian newspapers ($P = 0.01$). In effect, there exists an association between the two epithets, products described as "original" being also frequently characterized as being of "good quality". We may also remark here that the aesthetic aspects of merchandise advertised -- its beauty or elegance -- are often insisted upon¹. The frequency with which this particular feature is mentioned is approximately the same in English- and in French-language newspapers.⁴

Advertisements claiming that the products which they promote are economical are also relatively abundant. Almost by convention, merchandise so described is also, at the same time, represented as luxurious, in what may be an attempt by advertisers to balance equally desirable, yet somewhat contradictory, features. It may be remarked at this point that the virtue of economy is one less and less emphasized in advertisements designed for a female readership, such as those appearing in women's magazines. We may presume that this is due to the comparative affluence of consumers who, no longer vitally concerned with the cost of the products they buy, are free to base their choice on other criteria.

Ironically, the attributes least frequently mentioned in the promotion of products are those practical ones which determine their usefulness rather than external appearance. Indeed, it becomes increasingly obvious as we examine advertising techniques that what in fact is promoted is not products as much as the image of products. But while a frequential analysis of the attributes explicitly associated with products suggests that advertisers emphasize their extrinsic qualities, a tendential analysis of the same data reveals, paradoxically enough, a trend in the opposite direction, that is to say, towards the more frequent mention of intrinsic qualities.

The intrinsic qualities of products (such as their utility, efficiency and convenience) tend to be increasingly mentioned in advertisements, this increase being at the same time accompanied by a proportional decrease in the frequency with which extrinsic characteristics are cited, such as originality, novelty, smoothness, etc. This trend may foreshadow a basic change in the strategy of promoters, who may, for the first time, have realized the effectiveness of using rational arguments to publicize products. In any event, the tendency towards more factual advertising is clear both in the English- and in the French-language press.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE FEMININE IMAGE IN ADVERTISING

Our examination of the feminine image in advertising must, of necessity, begin with an objective definition of the various aspects which combine to compose the popular and stereotyped conception of women. How, and to what extent (we must ask ourselves in the first place) can this composite image be characterized in terms of such personal aspects as age, haircolour, type of clothes worn, social status and degree of familiarity to the public? Having answered these questions, we may then proceed to an analysis of the qualities associated both explicitly and by implication with the feminine image.

1. Personal characteristics

What is the conception of the feminine personality projected by the advertising media of our times? Is it, as some journalists have maintained, a true reflection of the "average woman"? How has the feminine image in advertising changed or evolved between 1954 and 1967? Are images with essentially the same characteristics used in publicity designed to reach a French- and an English-Canadian readership? In order to make our study of these questions as objective as possible, we have sought to base our analysis primarily on those aspects of the feminine personality which may usually be inferred from direct observation of the publicity image of women itself.

We shall, accordingly, begin by describing certain explicit external characteristics of the feminine image as these have appeared in current and recent Canadian advertising, including the age, hair colour, dress, degree of familiarity to the public and social status of the models represented.

Table 4. - Approximate ages of women represented
in the totality of advertisements^a

	1954	1967
	%	%
Adolescents	1.4	3.0
Young women (age less than 35)	84.5	85.5
Middle-aged women (age 35 to 55)	12.1	11.5
Older women (age over 55)	.7	.9
	100.0	100.0

^a See table.

The results set forth in the preceding table confirm what must be quite obvious even to the casual observer of Canadian advertising practices: namely, that older women seldom figure in commercial publicity announcements. Although women of over 55 years of age account for 30% of the female population of Quebec, this age-group is in fact represented in less than 1% of all advertisements involving references to women. Similarly, barely one advertisement in ten represents a woman of the middle age-group (from 35 to 55 years of age). Generally speaking, English-Canadian periodicals fall in line with this publicity practice, even though in 1954 proportionally more women of "riper years" were presented ($P = 0.05$ and 0.01). In their study of the conventions of advertising in France, Rocard and Gutman² remarked the same virtual absence of aging women in women's magazines in that country, ascribing the phenomenon to the fact that the age-group is deemed to be aesthetically pleasing neither for purposes of publicity

¹ Item 11 of the appended tabulation.

² Rocard and Gutman, Sois belle et achète, op. cit., p. 68.

nor for featuring in so-called "photo-romances".¹ Evidently, however, the predicament of the middle-aged woman involves far more fundamental problems than the mere loss of an attractive appearance:

At the very moment of their lives when women ought to embark on a new and different phase of existence, they are confronted with a choice. Either they may cling desperately to the fading image of their own femininity -- to what they looked like at age 35 -- or else they may take the leap in the dark and recognize that they will henceforth be judged in terms of their activities, not their appearance.²

Once again, we come face to face with the same inescapable conclusion that dogged us in the previous chapter: the image of women, so far as advertisers are concerned, is one defined entirely in terms of physical appearance. According to advertisers, the typical woman is neither that in her middle years or old age nor the girl in her adolescence (the latter accounting for only 3% of all advertisements). On the contrary, she is somewhere between 20 and 35 years of age -- an age-group in which women are most likely to take an interest in buying things to improve their appearance. Here again, the English-Canadian periodicals conform to the general pattern by giving the 20-to-35 age-group predominant (85%) representation in advertising. We may add that English-language regional daily newspapers presented somewhat fewer than average instances of young women in advertisements during the year 1954 ($P = 0.01$).

The proportional distribution of feminine age-groups in advertising remained relatively unchanged between 1954 and 1967. The only shift worthy of notice in the interim was a slight downward trend (of the order of 3%) in the number of middle-aged women represented -- a trend that seems, once again, to confirm the unchallenged supremacy of young women in advertising. One particular magazine, Chatelaine, deserves special mention in this regard. Whereas, in 1954, it presented more middle-aged women in its advertisements than any other periodical, by 1967 it had aligned itself with other publications in favouring overwhelmingly younger women ($P = 0.01$). The practice of advertisers has, thus, been reduced to the single uniform policy of preferring the 20-to-35 age-group, regardless of whether the readership to be reached is diversified as to sex or exclusively feminine.

¹ For a discussion of the virtual absence of older women in "photo-romances," see E. Sullerot, La Presse féminine, op. cit.

² Rocard and Gutman, op. cit., p. 69.

b) Hair colour.

It is generally admitted that the physical appearance of the advertising model has considerable impact on both male and female consumers, providing a means of projection for the one and of identification for the other. Since beauty, as such, is not a measurable quantity and affords no data for systematic analysis, we singled out the attribute of hair colour by way of an aesthetic criterion for the classification of models. The final results of this phase of our survey, touching the hair colour of women represented in advertising, are given below:

Table 5. - Hair colour of women represented in
the totality of advertisements

	1954	1967
Blond	51.5	51.4
Black	27.5	51.9
Brunette	34.3	28.0
Redhead	.1	.5
Gray/white	1.1	1.4
Indeterminate	5.5	7.0
	100.0	100.0

As one might expect, women with gray or white hair are virtually absent from advertising, no doubt in consequence of the general attitude of indifference towards older women consistently manifested by advertisers. Another hair colour hardly ever encountered in commercial publicity is auburn or red. The rarity of this type can probably be attributed to the comparative infrequency of coloured

advertisements which makes the identification of this hair colour difficult.¹

Numerically speaking, advertising models have the three dominant hair colours -- blond, black and brown -- in more or less equal proportion.² This, in fact, means that blonds are over-represented in advertising, since, particularly in the Province of Quebec, fair-haired women probably constitute a minority of the population. Be this as it may, blonds are obviously favoured over all others in the Quebec French-language press, where they account for a steady 31% of all advertising models both in 1954 and 1967.

As far as brunettes are concerned, their popularity has waned somewhat during the last thirteen years. Whereas, in 1954, they figured in no less than 34% of all advertisements, by 1967 this proportion had decreased to 28%.³ This particular hair-colour is more frequently found in the pages of English-Canadian publications than in the French-Canadian press ($P = 0.05$ and 0.01). The ground that has been lost by brunettes has been gained by black-haired models. Thus, the tendency in advertising has been, if anything, to polarize differences in hair-colour: black- and fair-haired women have gained ascendancy over intermediate shades, despite the fact that, demographically speaking, the latter are found to predominate in the population.

¹ Researchers had no difficulty in recognizing and distinguishing blond and brown hair in black-and-white advertising. Young women with hair printed in white were considered blonds; those with hair cross-hatched on the printed page, brunettes. There is, thus, an element of uncertainty in the results of this survey, owing to the inexactitude of the material classified and the necessity for the classifiers to adopt arbitrary distinctions in coding it.

² Unlike redheads, brunettes may be distinguished in black-and-white print from both black- and fair-haired models.

³ The decrease has been notable in the case of Le Monde (19%), le Soleil (14%), Châtelineau (13%), and Perspectives (5%). In the case of la Presse, however, there has been a tendency towards the increased use of brunettes, to the tune of 15%.

To venture into the realm of conjecture, we might theorize that all advertising attempts to seduce women into changing their physical appearance, inviting them to become either alluringly fair-haired or aggressively black but under no circumstances to remain as they are. Since, admittedly, the prospective customer does in fact identify with the publicity model,¹ we may conclude that the purpose of advertisers is often to create a sense of discontent in the former, by offering her a somewhat improved, or distorted, image of herself. Through this dissatisfaction, the customer is indirectly prevailed upon to endeavour to modify her appearance so as to resemble the model more closely. The consequence of this, needless to say, is to increase the sales of the advertiser -- whose wares, incidentally, are more and more designed to change the physical appearance of women.

c) Clothes

There is no need for us to stress the importance of clothes in the life of the contemporary woman, caught up as she is in the seasonal changes of fashion. It is generally admitted that clothes in our society play a role far in excess of their primary utilitarian function: they are, quite obviously, symbols of status and their importance as such is ever increasing. Fashion itself is one of the most potent impulses to mass consumption, since it dictates, in fact, are a constant inducement to renewed purchasing. How (it will be appropriate to ask), ~~then~~, are models featured in advertisements dressed? What use do advertisers make of clothes in creating an atmosphere conducive to continued consumption?²

¹ Given the physical characteristic studied here (i.e., hair-colour), we have seen: (1) that blonds are over-represented in advertising relative to the frequency of their incidence in the population; (2) that blonds are comparatively more frequent in French-language advertising in the Province of Quebec, whereas in actuality blonds are outnumbered by women with darker shades of hair; and (3) that brunettes are comparatively more frequent in English-Canadian advertising, even though the proportion of fair-haired women is higher in English Canada than it is in Quebec. Similar observations might be made with reference to the age of the models represented.

² Item 12 of the appended tabulation.

³ Cf., J. Baudrillard, Le système des objets, op. cit., and A. Cadet, "Information collective et image de soi," op. cit., on the subject of innovation introduced by advertising.

Table 6. - Dress of women represented in
the totality of advertisements

	1954 %	1967 %
Naked or half-naked	1.5	3.6
Scantily dressed	4.1	4.8
Everyday wear	51.0	39.7
Stylish clothes	22.3	27.6
Sports clothes	8.8	17.6
Other	12.3	6.7
	100.0	100.0

All in all, ordinary everyday clothes of relatively neutral style are most often worn by models featured in advertisements. There is, however, a clear tendency towards greater diversity in the type of dress featured, between 1954 and 1967: the proportion of ordinary clothes displayed has decreased but this decline has to some extent been offset by an increase in the proportion of stylish garments and sportswear shown.

For all that, regular street-clothes have retained their pre-dominance over other kinds of apparel, particularly in English-Canadian periodicals. The reason for advertisers' reluctance to dress their models in extreme clothes may be their fear that such clothes might distract the reader from the publicized product. Putting aside Le Soleil and Perspectives, which constitute something of an exception, all newspapers show a marked preference for everyday garments in their advertisements, even though the trend of development is clearly towards presenting more imaginative and unconventional clothing.

The reason for the growing emphasis on stylish dress in advertisements is not far to seek. The trend is probably a direct reflection of the fact that the average woman today has more financial resources at her disposal than ever before. with the sole ex-

ception of Le Devoir (which actually registered a drop of 30, down to 142), most newspapers make increased use of stylishly dressed models in their advertisements. That clothes of this type have consistently ranked second in frequency to ordinary dress in the past, and still do so, does not, of course, contradict the observation of a continuing trend in their favour. With one exception (that of Le Devoir), stylish garments are more conspicuously in evidence in the French- than in the English-Canadian press, where, as we have already remarked, the emphasis is rather on everyday wear.

Intimate garments, such as nightgowns and underwear, are fairly infrequently featured in advertising. Despite the appeal which this sort of publicity might have for certain professional advertisers, one is compelled to acknowledge that its rate of incidence has remained low and, in the case of most periodicals, unchanged.¹ Nudity and half-nakedness are likewise virtually absent, although advertisements in 1967 showed a slight increase in the number of nudes and semi-nudes featured over those appearing in the 1954 press. Clearly, if one advertisement in every five has erotic undertones, this eroticism takes subtler forms than the exhibition of female nakedness.

One kind of garment that has appeared with increasing frequency in advertisements in both the French- and English-language press during the past decade is sportswear. Whereas in 1954 only about 9% of all advertising models featured such clothes, by 1967 the proportion had doubled in all newspapers except Terre de Chez Nous. The sharpest increase of all has occurred in the pages of Le Devoir. Logically enough, this development may be seen as a direct reflection of our evolving and affluent industrial society, with its increasing emphasis on leisure activities and corresponding minimization of the hours of work. Here, at any rate, advertising seems to mirror

¹ We might mention in passing that the highest incidence of this kind of advertising occurs in women's magazines.

the mores of the society that produced it. In view of the economically advantageous position enjoyed by the Quebec community, it is quite normal to find a growing preoccupation with leisure and pastimes -- a preoccupation expressed, among other things, by changing trends in the techniques of advertising.

d) Degree of familiarity to the public ¹

To what extent does periodical advertising make use of publicly known personalities in promoting products?

Table 7. - Degree of familiarity of models represented in the totality of advertisements

	1954 %	1967 %
Anonymous	92.7	90.5
Unknown person, identified by name	2.6	5.4
Local celebrity	2.3	2.2
International celebrity	2.4	1.9
	100.0	100.0

In over 90% of all cases, the models featured in the advertisements of both English- and French-Canadian newspapers are anonymous. It is reasonable to assume that they are intended to represent the "average woman" -- a long-established tradition in advertising, with no significant change of incidence between 1954 and 1967. There is, at the same time, a subtle trend towards identifying more and more of these unknown women by name, probably in an effort to give their statements a ring of authenticity (cf., Chapter VI). Thus, it is commonplace to see advertisements such as the following, in contemporary newspapers:

"Legrade vous présente le jambon au cidre. Une recette inédite de Mme Claire Primeau, technicienne en sciences ménagères!" ["Legrade's presents ham with cider, an unpublished recipe by Mrs. Claire Primeau, graduate in home economics"]
(food advertisement, Perspectives, 8-67)

¹ Item 10 of the appended tabulation.

"Suzanne Leblanc trouve merveilleux l'indicateur couleur Philco. Il l'avertit lorsqu'une émission est télévisée en couleurs" ["Suzanne Leblanc swears by her Philco colour indicator. It tells her when a television programme is broadcast in colour"]
(appliance advertisement, Perspectives, 29-7-67)

The use of local and international celebrities in advertising is relatively restricted. Despite the view of advertising executive J. P. Ladouceur, that the French-Canadian public is more responsive to the use of local celebrities in promotion while English-Canadians respond more positively to internationally known figures, there is in practice no significant difference between the incidence of the two types of celebrities in the French- and English-language press of 1954 and 1967.

a) Social status

What of the social status of the women featured in advertisements? For obvious reasons, advertisers are loath to commit themselves on this point. In the overwhelming majority of advertisements it is practically impossible to associate models with any particular socio-economic context, all indications of social status or class having been subtly eliminated by a process of abstraction and by the uniformization of the backdrop. For all intents and purposes, advertising design endeavours to minimize social distinctions, as if such differences either did not exist or were of no consequence. Where explicit information is given concerning the socio-professional status of models, this is almost invariably intended to supply the place of class indications in the interest of reaching as broad an audience as possible.

In fact, the only social class explicitly referred to in promotional material is the "aristocracy" or the "middle class".¹ The use of

¹ These ambiguous terms may be construed to denote high social class.

such terminology in advertising is clearly intended to invest the product with a degree of social prestige. The claim that a certain product is bought by 'socially eminent' individuals is, in fact, almost enough to ensure its popularity with the lower classes, since the overwhelming majority of the population consciously takes its social superiors as the frame of reference for its own purchases. Hence it is that certain products originally regarded as "prestige or luxury items" have gradually become "ordinary" by widespread use -- a common occurrence in the mass distribution of consumers' goods.¹

2. Qualities associated with models in advertising.

Apart from revealing certain external characteristics of the female model, advertisements also provide us with a more intimate glimpse of the feminine personality as it is perceived in commercial publicity, by associating with it, either explicitly or by implication, certain attributes. As the nature of the attributes associated with products determines their public image by and large, so the qualities linked with female models in advertising also contribute decisively to the popular conception of women.

What interests us here especially, therefore, is whether certain personal qualities commonly associated with women in commercial promotion are mentioned in newspaper advertisements or not, and if so, with what frequency they are mentioned. Our selection of the various qualities for this survey is itself (we may add) the result of a preliminary analysis of attributes most often associated with women in advertising practice.² (See table)

¹ This process is well described among others by J. Baudrillard who, in his Symbolic Exchange and Death (Galimard, 1960) speaks of the influence of the 'prototype' (modèle) on the subsequent 'serial' manufacture of objects. Cf., also La Sémiologie du Signe (op. cit.) by the philosopher of advertising E. Dichter.

² In the following analysis, the method employed for classifying qualities was empirical inasmuch as the order in which they were presented was based on the relative frequency of their mention. The attributes associated with women will be given a somewhat different, theoretical, treatment in Chapter VIII, where we shall undertake to classify them according to whether they are intellectual, moral or physical.

Table 8. - Proportion of the frequencies with which various qualities are associated with women featured in advertising, in the totality of advertisements

	1954	1957
Youth	78.9	78.8
Elegance	57.5	70.0
Beauty	58.4	69.8
Gaiety	54.8	44.6
Sociability	31.2	27.5
Vitality	26.6	22.7
Love	25.2	22.5
Good fortune	16.9	22.4
Sweetness	15.3	17.0
wholesomeness and health	7.5	14.9
Wealth	9.7	13.8
Modernness	5.0	11.7
Cleanliness	12.7	10.7
Talent	8.1	10.4
Naturalness	5.4	8.3
Originality	2.1	7.5
Intelligence	3.1	6.2
Sincerity	.9	5.3
Culture and refinement	1.1	4.8
Intuitiveness	.2	1.6

The qualities most frequently associated with women in the publicity material examined were found to be youth, beauty and elegance, each mentioned in no fewer than three out of four advertisements. Needless to say, the emphasis here is above all on the physical aspect of women, the same attributes recurring with almost tiresome repetitiveness. As Rocard and Gutman have shrewdly observed,

All human activity may be viewed in terms of three fundamental imperatives: being, having and doing. Now, advertising addressed to a female readership suppresses the aspect of doing, to leave to women only those of being and having. Doing is a prerogative reserved for the male...

Our own analysis leads us to a similar conclusion: the publicity image of women focusses on their physical being, often with the suggestion of happiness or contentment associated with them. These qualities are even more frequently mentioned in the English-Canadian metropolitan dailies. Indeed, the uniformity, in all but a handful of newspapers, of the physical attributes associated with women is nothing short of remarkable; it would seem that we are here dealing with a conditioned response universal in our society.

A second conclusion, no less evident than the first, is that descriptions referring to intellectual qualities account for only 10% of all those provided. More particularly, these deal (in decreasing order of frequency) with the attributes of talent, originality, culture and intuitiveness. Finally, qualities of the moral kind, such as naturalness and sincerity, complete the list of attributes least frequently associated with women. In conclusion, there seems to be every justification for saying that the feminine image projected by the media of publicity tends to minimize the moral and intellectual virtues of women -- so much so, indeed, that even intuition, a traditionally "feminine" quality, is hardly ever associated with the female sex in advertising.

¹ Sois belle et achète, op. cit., p. 139.

Unquestionably, a number of valid reasons can be cited for the singular emphasis placed in advertisements on the purely physical characteristics of women. a) The very nature of the printed publicity message makes it especially suitable for physical description, the medium not lending itself readily to the inclusion of moral and intellectual qualities. b) Since one-third of all advertisements in the press promote clothing and cosmetics, the emphasis in these at any rate will naturally be on the physical aspect of the intended consumer. Yet, there is a very considerable difference between this one-third and the three-quarters of advertisements in which the bodily characteristics of women are stressed.¹ Hence, we may conclude, hypothetically at least, that commercial publicity contains a partial reflection of the popular stereotyped conception of women as physical objects whose primary function is pleasing rather than as human beings whose potentialities are equal to those of men. An extreme form of this stereotype is current in magazines intended for male consumption.

Before arriving at our final conclusion, it will be well for us to compare the results of our survey of advertisements for the years 1954 and 1967. One tendency that may be clearly discerned is the growing diversification of the feminine image in the press, a diversification expressing itself in the increasing number of different qualities ascribed to women in advertisements. The trend in this direction is, generally speaking, more pronounced in French-language publications emanating from the Province of Quebec. The growing complexity of the feminine image is thus, primarily, a phenomenon of French-Canadian advertising, the female stereotype in English-Canadian publicity being by and large standardized and determinate.

Curiously enough, the qualities least frequently mentioned are also the very ones that have tended to show the most spectacular increases between 1954 and 1967. Thus, the qualities of intelligence,

¹ The presence of these attributes is mostly a matter of frequency from the text of advertisements.

honesty, culture and originality have registered increases by over 100% in the interval. There is, it would appear, a growing tendency to get away from the description of mere physical attributes in advertising and to pay increasing attention to qualities previously ignored. Modernness and health are two further examples of epithets more and more often applied to women in commercial promotion, the increase of the latter being probably due to an overall increase in the number of health-products and patent medicines publicized.

Conclusions

What conclusions does our examination of the feminine image in advertising suggest? We may say, at the outset, that whereas the publicity conception of women is a highly standardized and conventional one, there has been a tendency in recent years to increased recognition of a wider range of feminine characteristics. At the same time, there is a common and uniform substratum which underlies the conception of women in advertising. They possess no specific socio-economic status; they are for the most part anonymous; they wear principally neutral everyday garments; and their hair colour tends to favour the lighter shades. Almost invariably, they are youthful and lovely. This standard image of the female model is current in the advertising publicity of both the French- and the English-Canadian press, and particularly so in the latter where it holds undisputed supremacy over all other representations.

Be this as it may, the image of women in advertising gives every evidence of growing more complex with the years. The growing complexity of the image reveals itself through an increase in the number of attributes mentioned and through the greater diversity of clothes worn by female models in advertising. This trend, incidentally, is more pronounced in publicity material appearing in the Quebec French- than in the English-Canadian press.

The image projected by advertising in print is of a standard woman possessing a certain number of traits, chiefly of the physical kind. For the thousands of potential consumers wishing to identify with the models presented, advertising thus indirectly extends a powerful moral inducement to seek to conform with an idealized physical type. It is in this way that advertising, the vehicle of factitious images to, literally, millions of consumers, contributes to

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IX
CHAPTER VIII

ENV The Context of the Feminine Image in Advertising

The advertisements which we have chosen to treat in the present study, by definition, involve the promotion of products through the use of female models. Needless to say, apart from the nature of the products publicized and the use made of the models themselves, the situations in which the latter are pictured have also considerable sociological interest, since they serve, in fact, as social models of action. To speak in general terms, the situations featured in advertising fall into two broad categories: a) those representing the female model out of all tangible social context, as a static instrument in her own right. In advertisements of this kind there is a virtual absence of backdrop, no attempt being made to relate the model pictured to any probable situation; and b) those representing the female model in some recognizable social environment which acts as it were as the microcosmic reflection of society at large and in which she plays a certain definite role. Although, for obvious reasons, the second type holds far greater interest for us than the first, advertisements of both types can yield us valuable insights. In effect, it is quite possible for a model placed in an improbable situation to be in some recognizable context or engaged in some form of activity. Finally, let us add that all advertisements involving at least one human model (in this instance, a woman) can reflect ways of life or at least make allusion to certain cultural values.

Accordingly, this chapter will be devoted to a description of all the various kinds of social roles and situations in which the female model is presented in advertising. Such a description will

help us gain a more specific understanding of the feminine image in publicity, by situating the subject (already described as to her individual characteristics) in a context of activity or social interaction.

Slightly less than one-half of all advertisements surveyed were found to present the female model functioning within a realistic social environment.¹ With the sole exception of Chatelaine magazine, there is no difference in this respect between the practice of advertisers in English-Canadian and in Quebec-French publications. One fact well worthy of notice is the general trend of newspapers in both languages (except for La Presse) to present fewer and fewer advertisements involving realistic situations. (The case of La Presse is somewhat singular in that, already in 1954, it carried proportionally less 'realistic' publicity material than any other newspaper surveyed.) The tendency to present the female model outside of any realistic context is most notable in the case of rural weeklies (where the proportion of such advertisements has grown from 29% to 79%) and of working-class dailies (where it has increased from 53% to 75%). Thus, it is principally in newspapers intended for a rural and an urban working-class readership that the social isolation of the publicity model is most complete.

We have said that our purpose in this chapter will be to describe the advertising model in action within given situations analyzed from the sociological point of view. The questions which we shall therefore investigate will bear a certain resemblance to those already explored in connection with the role played by women in the news, which constituted the theme of the first part of our report.

¹ The term 'realistic' in this context is used to describe a situation depicted in advertising which corresponds to one in actual life, that is to say, a situation transposed from reality into the medium of publicity.

1. Sectors of activity¹

Into what spheres do the activities of female models represented in advertising fall? The classification that we shall use in attempting to answer this question will be the same as that utilized in our previous study of the nature of feminine actions in the news. By describing the various spheres of activity found in advertising, we hope to shed some light on the values commonly associated with the actions of women. Admittedly, in the present case, a number of extrinsic factors, such as the nature of the products publicized, do enter into the determination of the types of activity illustrated in advertisements. Yet, the consistent tendency of advertisers to associate women with certain spheres of activity in preference to others can be considered indicative of their implicit valuation of feminine roles.

Table 9. - Spheres of activity of female models in the totality of advertisements

	1954 %	1967 %
Domestic work	19.6	8.4
Outside work	7.9	9.5
Social obligations	12.4	11.8
Leisure activities	28.3	31.8
Inactivity	31.8	38.5
	100.0	100.0

¹ Cf., item no. 6 of the appended tabulation. The following regrouping of categories took place in the present instance: categories 1 and 2 were included under the heading of work, categories 3, 4 and 5 under obligation, categories 7 to 11 inclusive under leisure, and categories 6 and 12 under inactivity. The following distinctions were observed for purposes of classification: "rest" implies that the individual is situated in her normal sphere of activity but is in a state of rest; "leisure" means that the subject is either engaged in a leisure activity or removed from her normal area of functioning for the purpose of resting; while "inactivity" signifies that the individual is purely passive (as, for example, when she merely "presents" the product, and is divorced from all social context).

The most frequent of all settings used in advertising are those featuring the female model in a state of non-involvement and inactivity. The woman is there simply as an instrument or accessory for promoting the product. The passivity of her role challenges comparison with that of male models who, by contrast, are very seldom represented in passive situations. Curiously enough, the proportional frequency of such settings has appreciably increased in the interval between 1954 and 1967, justifying our conclusion that the traditional, passive conception of the "woman-object", so-called, is more firmly established in our own days than ever before. Such, at any rate, is the inference that our statistical survey compels us to draw.

Of all spheres of activity represented in advertising, those connected with leisure are most frequently encountered -- obviously because advertisers believe that it is to their advantage to present their products in a context of leisure rather than of work. The latter sector, incidentally, gives every sign of receding in quantitative importance: not more than 20% of all advertisements today depict scenes from professional or domestic work. The sector of activity least often represented is that relating to obligations and duties, whether of the personal, spiritual, political or familial kind.¹ Here, once again, is proof that, at least in our civilization, the use of advertising to remind individuals of their tasks is considered to be highly inappropriate.

A comparison of the publicity contents of the English- and the French-language press reveals a high degree of similarity between the relative importance given to various spheres of activity by advertis-

¹ For our purposes, an obligation may be defined as an activity connected neither with work nor with leisure. Personal obligations are those related primarily to the needs of the human body (e.g., personal hygiene); spiritual obligations are those imposed on individuals by their religious convictions (e.g., going to church); political obligations are those owed by individuals to the state by virtue of their citizenship (e.g., voting); and family obligations are those arising by reason of the individual's place and normal role in the family (e.g., looking after the children). Of the relatively few advertisements presenting situations of obligation, the majority deal with those of the personal and familial kind, spiritual and political obligations being hardly ever mentioned in advertising.

ers in the two languages.¹

Indeed, one is inevitably reminded of the hypothesis of Dumazedier, who theorizes that, as mass-consumption increases in a society, there occurs a gradual "decline in the values attached to commitment to one's family, profession, union, spiritual convictions and political life, in favour of the values attached to leisure activities".² Admitting that Quebec society is rapidly evolving towards a "post-industrial" phase, wherein mass-consumption is the order of the day, we may find confirmation of Dumazedier's hypothesis in the current practices of our advertisers. In effect, there is a conspicuous trend in publicity to stress leisure activities increasingly and to place proportionally less emphasis on the obligations of private and professional life. It is, above all, in the professional sector that the change between 1954 and 1967 has been most dramatic: the proportional frequency of advertisements referring to this sphere of activity has dropped during this period from 27.5% to 17.9% on the average. An interesting distinction may be drawn here between professional and domestic work: while the latter has shown a very impressive decline, there has been a slight but general growth in the number of advertisements featuring women in some form of professional occupation. (Journal de la femme to be the only exception to the general rule.) These statistics contain an interesting reflection of the growth of women's social emancipation in our society: there is a clear trend to associate women less with domestic work and more with professional employment, less with work and more with leisure activities, than previously. Chatelaine magazine, on the other hand, presents something of a notable excep-

¹ There are only three noteworthy instances of English- and French-language periodicals diverging from the norm common to both: a) Chatelaine magazine (probability of error less than 0.05), with reference to leisure activities; b) the Toronto Daily Star and La Presse (probability of error less than 0.05), with reference to representations of non-involvement and inactivity; and c) Chatelaine magazine (probability of error less than 0.10), with reference to obligations.

² Loisir et culture, op. cit., p. 38.

tion to the norm: although addressed to an exclusively female audience, the periodical has continued to emphasize the traditional, home-making, function of women. This anomaly may be due to a widespread belief among advertisers that women, in the privacy of their own journals, prefer to view themselves in terms of their domestic, rather than professional, role.

2. The purposes of action.

In addition to classifying activities according to the sector into which they fall, we may distinguish among them on the basis of the different ends which they contemplate. Earlier in this study, we differentiated between 'personalization' and 'participation', that is to say, between actions undertaken with the purpose of realizing the actor's individuality and potential and those tending to contribute in some way to the life and interests of society. Unlike conformist actions, all those described as exceptional or innovative fall into one of these two categories. In analyzing the activities of models in advertising, we have followed by and large the same line of distinction as previously, classifying the actions represented into three types: those oriented towards the individual; those oriented towards the accomplishment of private objectives; and those contemplating the achievement of some social programme. The question that concerns us at present is, to what extent publicity appeals to and glorifies the value of individualistic pursuits as against the value of collective engagements; or, to put it otherwise, whether the actions represented in advertising are more often motivated by private objectives than by the interests of society. The answer to this question will afford us an insight into the values tacitly advocated by advertising.

Table 10. - Purposes of actions done by female models in the totality of advertisements

	1954 %	1967 %
Individual	15.0	17.3
Private	49.9	35.8
Social	7.5	9.7
Indeterminate	29.6	37.2

The majority of advertisements in which the purpose of the actions represented could be determined¹ appear to be oriented towards the private life of the individual; the scenes most commonly utilized are from family life and from the life of the individual in her relation with a person of the opposite sex. Whereas in 1954 there was no difference in the frequency with which such scenes were presented in the English- and the French-language press, in 1967 these scenes were of more common occurrence in English-Canadian publications. Occupying second position are advertisements in which the activity represented is oriented towards the female subject herself. The incidence of such publicity material is equally frequent in the publications of both languages. As for advertisements representing actions oriented towards collective objectives and transcending the primary group and the individual, these are relatively infrequent; indeed, less than 10% of all publicity satisfies the exigencies of this definition.² Advertising (we may therefore conclude) is directed primarily towards the individual and towards the concerns of private life, even though the latter has shown evidence of becoming less and less frequent. This decline in itself is well documented in the case of advertisements in the French-language press.

While the frequency of advertisements oriented towards the individual and his immediate circle has remained comparatively stable, significant changes have taken place between 1954 and 1967 in the public of persons or private actions represented. Activities of the latter kind have become increasingly rare in commercial publicity: whereas, in 1954, they accounted for one-half of all advertisements analyzed, by 1967 their proportion had shrunk to 25%.

¹ The high proportion of advertisements representing activities of indeterminate purpose is due to the fact that in many cases the model featured is in a state of inactivity.

² Once again, there is no significant difference here between the English- and the French-language press. One newspaper with an unusually high incidence of this kind of publicity material in 1954 was Montréal matin (25%).

Inasmuch as advertisements occasionally feature female models in more or less realistic social situations, it is pertinent to ask at this point what the relationships most often represented in publicity are. The answer to this question can give us valuable insight into the implied attitude of advertisers to women, since by representing the female subject in certain specific relationships the organs of publicity do, in fact, impute to her specific social roles, consciously or otherwise.

Table 11. - Social relationship of women in advertising.

	1954	1967
Alone	51.4	58.0
With a man	21.3	19.4
With family	15.8	9.7
With professional associate	5.0	5.7
With friends	6.5	9.2

The feminine subject is often pictured in isolation from others -- evidence (should we so wish to interpret it) that advertising projects as it were a fictional alter ego for the benefit of the potential consumer as a means of self-identification and as a vehicle for the fulfillment of the latter's most personal and intimate desires.

The next most frequent representation of the female model is in company with a male partner: indeed, not less than one advertisement in five depicts a couple. In the majority of cases, it is difficult to tell whether the couples represented are married or not; in this respect, publicity takes full advantage of the for-

fortunate ambiguity of such illustrations.¹ Scenes depicting the male-female relationship are followed, in point of frequency, by those showing models in the environment of the family. In 1967, this type of representation accounted for almost 10% of all illustrated advertisements. Publicity featuring the female model in the company of friends is almost as frequent as that of the preceding kind, with roughly 9% of all advertisements falling into this category. It is in the domain of professional work and employment that advertisers are most reluctant to place their female models; as we have previously observed, the representation of women in gainful occupations is extremely rare in commercial publicity.

The most interesting results in this survey are those yielded by a study of the changing image of the social relationships of women in publicity. Compared with her 1954 prototype, the female model of 1967 tends to be more frequently isolated in advertising addressed to a rural audience and to a metropolitan working-class readership. The practice of advertisers in the English-language newspapers seems little at variance with that in the French-language press in this respect. Representations of women in the company of friends appear to be gaining importance in both language sectors, the rate of increase being particularly high in Perspectives. Both these increases have taken place at the expense of other relationships, representations of which have undergone a proportional diminution in advertising. In 1967, models were less frequently pictured within the context of professional and of personal relations, either with the family or with a partner of the opposite sex. Above all, the decrease has been most spectacular in the case of advertisements with a family setting. It would seem that the family, for a long time the all-important social unit of the Province of Quebec, has lost something of its primordial stature, and is less and less often represented in advertising. The same tendency is apparent also in the publicity of English-Canadian newspapers, although here the decrease has been less pronounced. A slight decline may also be noted in the proportion of advertisements presenting couples and individuals in professional relationships.

To summarize, the frequential and tendential analysis of Quebec advertising shows that in three out of four cases publicity represents women either by themselves or in company with ~~1~~ partners.

¹ Rocart and Gutman (op. cit., p. 96) find the same fundamental ambiguity in publicity intended for a female readership in France.

of the opposite sex, in what are obviously purely personal relationships.

4. The proximity of objects¹

The female advertising model may be described not only in terms of her relationship with other persons but also in terms of her physical contact or proximity to certain inanimate objects. Such a description can shed light on the nature of the female subject's function in advertising, by drawing a distinction among the various ways in which she is related to her immediate physical environment.

Table 12. - Relation of the publicity model to inanimate objects, in the totality of advertisements

	1954 %	1967 %
Not in contact with objects	55.5	42.1
In contact with objects other than those advertised	9.4	...
Presenting the products advertised	24.2	17.3
Using the products advertised	50.9	59.0

In our previous discussion of the feminine image in the news, we classified news items into two types: those in which women figured as passive subjects and those in which they played an active role. A similar classification is possible, we believe, in the case of advertising announcements, the question here being whether the model is shown displaying or utilizing the product (active), or simply as an accessory or instrument having no contact with the product itself (passive). The isolation of the model from reality is even more com-

¹ See data collected under item 14 and the items following in the appended tabulation. In view of the low frequency of items in categories 4 to 13 inclusive, we classified these under the heading of "contact with objects other than those advertised"

plete where she is represented out of all physical context, that is to say, without any contact with objects.

In slightly more than one-half of all advertisements surveyed, the female model was found to be either presenting or using the advertised product. There emerges at this point an interesting distinction between the practices of advertisers in French- and English-Canadian publications. Whereas the former tend to represent the female model utilizing the advertised product ($P = 0.01$ and 0.05), the latter usually picture her merely presenting it ($P = 0.01$). In the advertisements remaining, there exists no clearly established connection between the model and the publicized product. Accordingly, in both French- and English-Canadian advertising the tendency has been to isolate more and more frequently the female model from objects in her environment; more and more often, she has become an abstract reflection of her own sex, progressively detached from reality. Since this progressive isolation of the model has operated on the level both of objects and of persons, it may, in effect, be considered to represent a general trend in the practice of advertisers.

5. Roles

The aspects of advertising so far considered -- sphere of activity, purpose of action, the relationship of the model with other persons and objects -- all make their contribution to defining the sociological role played by the female model in advertising. The following description of her roles will, accordingly, summarize and synthesize under a single heading the various data presented so far. We may distinguish six feminine roles in advertising: a) the familial role: here the individual, doing domestic work, functions in a family situation and is presented essentially in her relation to the family; b) the sexual role: here the individual is presented either in the company of a male partner or by herself but in a situation of "personal commitment"¹; c) the work role: here the individual is pictured

¹ In this particular situation, the individual is defined essentially in terms of her sex, i.e., in her relation to a man. The role corresponds to what Rocard and Gutman call "la femme-femme" (the role of woman as woman).

in a situation of gainful employment or in a professional relation with other persons; d) the leisure role: here the individual is either with a group of friends or pursuing some leisure activity; e) the role of passive accessory: here the individual is presented by herself in a situation of non-involvement and inactivity.¹ Last of all, we may mention the role of commitment, where the individual is presented in some situation of spiritual or political engagement.

Table 13. - Roles attributed to female models
in the totality of advertisements

	1954 %	1967 %
Sexual	51.1	45.2
Sexual	18.5	18.2
Work	6.2	7.9
Leisure	21.9	25.6
Passive accessory	26.2	33.1
Commitment	0.1	0.0
	100.0	100.0

The heading of "commitment" has been retained here to emphasize the virtual non-existence of the role among those represented in advertising. Judging from these results, one might be led to conclude that commitment to civic, political and religious activities is regarded with some distaste in our society, and that the presentation of models in such commitments would not encourage customer identification.

In 1967, the role in which female models figured most often in advertising was as "woman-objects," in the previously defined sense of the term. Women in this role are the instruments par excellence of a certain kind of publicity, whether subtle or banal, much in favour with advertisers in both languages.

¹ The female model in this role is merely a publicity object, her sole function being to lend a touch of glamour to the product advertised. She has, in fact, no role to play, as such.

Leisure activities and amusements are roles frequently assigned to women: no fewer than one advertisement out of four presents the female model in precisely such roles. This in itself may not call for special notice, since advertisers as a general rule like to present scenes of leisure activities. Eighteen percent of the advertisements assign a sexual role to their models, while fifteen percent place them in a family situation. Among the latter, the role of motherhood appears to be especially stressed, as the following sample advertisements will attest: "It is always Mothers' Day at your friendly X1Z shopping centre" (La Presse, 7-5-54); "Good mothers are proud to serve Dupéré bread" (Le Soleil, 12-12-67). Finally, the representation of models in work roles is the least frequent.

Generally speaking, there is little divergence between French- and English-Canadian publications as regards the proportional distribution of the various roles represented in advertising.

A comparative study of publicity techniques in 1954 and 1967 reveals one rather significant change. While the familial role was the ^{one} most often encountered in the advertisements of the year 1954, by 1967 this role had been replaced by those of leisure and of the passive accessory. Indeed, the frequency of ^{the} familial role had declined rather sharply in the interim, from 27% to 15%, with a compensating 7% rise in the incidence of the (so-called) "woman-object" and a 4% increase in the occurrence of the leisure role. The falling-off in the number of advertisements picturing women in the familial role reflects, once again, a corresponding enlargement in the scope of female activity in society and signals the breakdown of traditional trammels. The increased emphasis on the association of women with leisure and pastimes likewise points to a society where, thanks to a newly-gained affluence and abundance, there have opened up unprecedented opportunities for such activities.

6. Values

Publicity brings to the fore certain values which determine the behaviour of the contemporary woman -- a woman still, by and large, enslaved by conventions less evident perhaps, but no less tyrannic than ever.¹

¹ Rocard and Gutman, op. cit., p. 88.

Roles may be defined as models of human behaviour governing the activities of the subject and founded on an implicit system of values. Having come thus far in our study of advertising, we must now address ourselves to the problem of determining its underlying cultural values. Earlier in this examination, we described the values specifically associated by advertisers with the products promoted and with the models used in promoting them. Now we shall attempt to discover what the values advocated by advertising in general are, basing ourselves in this part of our study on a more comprehensive view of the subject. To facilitate the work of classification and typing in the following survey, certain methods of proceeding were adopted. First of all, the decision was made to couple antithetical values. Before a frequency was recorded, at least two of the three collaborating researchers had to notice its presence independently of each other, with the third researcher concurring in their judgement. Thus, each member of the team had, in fact, the right to veto the findings of his colleagues -- a precaution despite which the members found themselves in unanimity very often throughout the enquiry.

The question that the researchers had set out to answer was the following: what are the values embodied (one might almost say, lived) in publicity illustrations and in the text accompanying these? First, on the level of economic behaviour, does the emphasis in advertisements fall on the necessary rather than on the superfluous, the useful rather than on the gratuitous, the economical and the inexpensive rather than on the luxurious? Secondly, within the frame of reference of social behaviour (that is to say, as regards attitudes towards society), is the appeal of tradition more or less powerful than that of novelty? Is conformity more often stressed than originality? Lastly, on the level of individual behaviour, what is the standard of happiness or contentment proposed by publicity? Are active or passive modes of behaviour favoured? Is the emphasis more on quality and excellence, on the one hand, or on ease and facility, on the other? Is the prospective customer encouraged to live a more hectic or a more tranquil life? Is he exhorted to take an adventurous attitude to life and to seek out risks to the detriment of safety? Is he invited to

pursue a sober and serious existence or a self-indulgent and hedonistic one? Is he encouraged to be natural and spontaneous or vain; tender and refined or virile and masculine? Inasmuch as we wish to describe more precisely the life-model proposed by publicity, it is these questions, and others like them, that we must answer.

Table 14. - Values explicitly and implicitly presented in the totality of advertisements

	1954 %	1967 %		1954 %	1967 %
<u>At the level of economic behaviour</u>					
Necessity	19.5	19.9	Superfluity	3.4	10.9
Utility	56.6	53.0	Gratuitousness	4.4	9.5
Economy	25.8	21.5	Luxury, richness	13.9	17.2
<u>At the level of social behaviour</u>					
Novelty	44.5	44.2	Antiquity	4.6	4.8
Conformity	23.7	17.6	Originality	32.0	43.9
<u>At the level of individual behaviour</u>					
Passivity	1.0	3.4	Activity	21.3	22.1
Ease	35.8	37.4	Striving for excellence, effort	1.1	2.7
Speed	16.5	17.3	Tranquillity	15.0	13.9
Danger	1.1	4.2	Safety	33.0	33.5
Sobriety and seriousness	3.9	9.9	Pleasure	45.1	32.9
Naturalness	4.4	8.4	Vanity	3.6	7.7
Virility	.8	.7	Tenderness	29.2	26.1
Masculinity	.5	.5	Femininity	31.5	35.2

a) At the level of economic behaviour

Some advertisers stress the necessity of their products; others emphasize their nonessential and frivolous character. (E.g., "Faites-en un drame. Exigez ... Exquisite Form ou rien!" ["Make a scene. Insist on ... Exquisite Form or nothing!"] (Perspectives, 22-4-67); and

"DuBarry présente les petites gâteries" ["Let DuBarry's spoil you with its little trinkets"] (Perspectives, 6-5-67). Occasionally, advertisements appeal to the sense of thrift of the prospective consumer: "Le temps c'est de l'argent. Alors commencez donc par économiser du temps" ["If time is money, why not begin with saving time?"] (Le Devoir, 14-8-67). At other times, the appeal that publicity makes is to the prospective customer's love of expensive and luxurious things: "Quand on commence à rêver...il est utile de savoir que Birks offre des diamants sûrs...pour la qualité, pour la valeur...et pour la vie" ["When you start dreaming...it is good to remember Birks diamonds...for quality, for value...for life"] (Le Devoir, 19-12-67). But let us move on to a systematic examination of the economic values advocated by advertising.

Various authors have commented on the processes (some more explicit than others) involved in the valorization of products in our society, with its characteristic tendency to confuse the real and imaginary values of objects. Some have seen the fictional images propagated by our mass media as substitutes offered to the individual by society to compensate him for his actual wants: "mass culture procures for us in fiction all that we cannot afford in reality".¹ We may add here that even products within the reach of the average consumer are often represented as having to satisfy unrealizable expectations or at any rate expectations beyond the actual financial capabilities of the customer. In what proportion (we may well ask) are the claims of newspaper advertisers founded on statements of fact and on the fiction of dreams?

It is primarily on the "practical" aspect of the products advertised that the emphasis falls in publicity: what is stressed is the necessity, utility and economy of the merchandise rather than its superfluous nature, or the irresistibility or charm of possession. The practical merits of the product are emphasized with even more insistence in English- than in French-Canadian advertising ($P = 0.05, 0.01, 0.10$). Nevertheless, to judge from developments during the period between 1954 and 1967, there is an increased valuation of "dream" in publicity; whereas claims of necessity, utility and economy have remained more or less stable in frequency (or have, indeed, shown a slight tendency to decline), the appeal of the super-

fluous, the gratuitous and the luxurious has gained considerable ground among advertisers. This increased cultivation of the dream-fantasy is even more pronounced in publicity appearing in the Quebec-French than in the English-Canadian press ($P = 0.01$). In conclusion, there is a growing polarization between the economic values promoted and propagandized by the publicity organs of the two principal cultural groups of the country. While the "practical" merits of products are already more heavily emphasized in the English than in the French periodicals, the tendency in the French-language press is clearly towards an increased exploitation of the customer's fantasies, aspirations and dreams.

b) At the level of social behaviour

Having disposed of the economic values popularized by advertising, we may now turn our attention to the social values and attitudes which it proclaims. First, with regard to the valorization of what is new in contrast to what is old and traditional, we find a definite preference given to novelty in promotional literature. True, in a certain number of cases, advertisers take special pains to proclaim the reliability and ~~endurance~~ ^{durability} of their products; but the frequency of this claim is relatively slight in comparison with the frequency with which the claim of novelty is asserted. The reason for this emphasis is perfectly obvious, its object being what Vance Packard has called the "psychological obsolescence of products". By inculcating a desire for novelty in the consumer, advertisers seek to create an increased need ^{for} and receptivity to their products; their merchandise must be desirable and desired not because it is useful but because it is new. Generally speaking, the appeal to novelty dominates advertising in all but rural newspapers; it has approximately the same measure of currency in the Quebec-French as in the English-Canadian press. Whereas almost one-half of all advertisements featured make the claim of novelty, less than five percent seek to valorize the traditional and the old-fashioned. Indeed, the frequency of these claims has changed little between 1954 and 1967 either in the English- or in the French-language press. Apart from a few appeals to tradition (e.g., "Clermont Motors, les pionniers de l'automobile à Montréal" ["Clermont Motors, pioneers

of the automobile in Montreal"], Montréal Matin, 3-6-54), it is still the attraction of novelty above all that newspaper advertisers exploit: "La plus nouvelle des nouvelles Oldsmobile depuis 57 ans. La voiture de demain" ["The newest of new Oldsmobiles in 57 years. The car of tomorrow"] (Le Devoir, 20-1-54).

No less interesting insights may be gained into the dynamics of social behaviour by examining the relative emphasis placed in publicity on individual originality, on the one hand, and on social conformity, on the other. The investigation of this question is all the more tantalizing since, as social critics maintain, the pressures operating on individuals in our days compelling them to conform to accepted modes of behaviour are increasing at an alarming rate. Other writers again, somewhat more optimistically, envisage the possibility of a cultural innovation as a result of the impact of advertising on the public. How are these conflicting opinions borne out by the actual practice of advertisers today?

It is to individual originality above all that advertisements most often appeal: more than four publicity messages out of ten stress this value as against a mere 1.7 that appear to extol the merits of social conformity. (There is some discrepancy between the proportional frequencies with which these values are invoked in the French- and English-language press.) Originality is, thus, considered by advertisers to have greater commercial value than does conformity: clearly, it is more flattering to the consumer to picture himself as original and creative than to see his behaviour as essentially conformist. Be this as it may, certain kinds of publicity do resort to the appeal of conformity. The following are a few selected examples of advertisements invoking both categories of value:

1. - Appeals to conformity:

"Aujourd'hui la_vogue est aux avions...tout le monde voyage par voie des airs! Êtes-vous un de ceux-là?" ["The trend today is to air travel...Everyone uses the airways. Do you?"]
(airlines advertisement, Montréal matin, 9-6-67)

"Faites comme nous!" ["Do as we do!"]
(bank credit advertisement, La Presse, 3-1-67)

"Préférez-vous rester à l'écart et grignoter de la laitue...ou faire comme les amis et déguster un gâteau aux pêches Diet de Luxe?" ["You may sit by yourself, nibbling lettuce...But wouldn't you rather do as your friends do and eat a Diet de Luxe peach pie?"] (dietetic foods advertisement, Chatelaine, April 1967)

2. - Appeals to originality:

"Garnissez-les d'olives farcies, de crevettes, d'oignons à cocktail...allez-y, donnez carte blanche à votre imagination!"

["Decorate it with stuffed olives, shrimp or pickled onions... Go ahead! Let your imagination run free!"]
(food advertisement, Chatelaine, June 1967)

"Soyez à l'avant-garde de la mode, créez vos propres patrons!"
["Be at the forefront of fashion... Create your own designs!"]
(sewing school advertisement, Montréal Matin, 14-3-67)

"Cessez de tirer des cordes pleines de couches humides. Adoptez la nouvelle solution moderne au problème des couches!" ["Stop putting your food into soggy wrappers. Take the up-to-date way to solve your old wrapping problems!"]
(synthetic wrapping material advertisement, Le Soleil, 25-2-54)

Between 1954 and 1967, there occurred an appreciable increase in the emphasis placed on originality in advertising, with a commensurate decrease in the importance given to the value of conformity. This trend has been equally observable in the case of English- as well as French-Canadian periodicals, even though two of the latter constitute exceptions to the general tendency. The appeal to the creativity and originality of the client is thus more consistent in English-Canadian than it is in French-Canadian publicity.

c) At the level of individual behaviour

Our purpose in the present section will be to examine the degree of emphasis placed in advertisements on a certain number of values relevant to the life and behaviour of the individual. The first question that requires an answer is whether the advent of the post-industrial era, with the phenomena of mass-consumption and mass-leisure, has favoured active or passive modes of behaviour. Does advertising, in other words, advocate the value of passivity, or does it place special emphasis on the value of action? Even a cursory glance at the evidence before us is enough to suggest that passive behaviour is almost never exalted in publicity. Both in 1954 and in 1967, advertisements appeared to be overwhelmingly action-oriented, with the active subject making an appearance in no less than one-quarter of all commercial announcements. The image of the dynamic consumer is a familiar feature of contemporary publicity, whether the merchandise offered for sale is "refreshments for busy people" ["rafraîchissements pour gens affairés"] (Le Devoir, 25-8-54) or shirts "for the active man" ["pour l'homme actif"] (Perspectives, 18-3-67).

A comparison of the attitudes taken to activity in English- and French-language advertising yields interesting results. Whereas in 1954 action was highly favoured in the English periodicals, with the

French press trailing behind, the tendency of subsequent years has been to equalize the disparity until, in 1967, there remained little difference between the degree of emphasis placed on activity in English- and French-Canadian advertising.

But what, more specifically, is the kind of activity favoured in publicity: is the emphasis placed on ease of doing or, on the contrary, on excellence of performance? Generally speaking, the latter is hardly ever invoked in advertising today, the value of effort being stressed even less often in English- than it is in French-Canadian publicity. The appeal, above all, is to ease and facility -- a value mentioned with greater frequency in English than in French periodical advertising ($P = 0.05$ and 0.01). A representative sample of this approach is the advertisement of a well-known brand of detergent in which the prospective consumer is assured: "ne passez qu'une fois! Ni rinçage, ni essuyage!" ["Do the work in one easy step! No rinsing, no wiping!"] (Magazine La Presse, 15-2-54). The frequency with which ease of doing is mentioned in publicity has remained comparatively stable between 1954 and 1967, even though individual periodicals may have shown a tendency towards the increased use of the value (Terre de Chez Nous and Montréal Matin) or towards a diminution in the frequency of its use (La Presse, Le Soleil, and London Free Press).

Needless to say, advertising presents other, more specific values as well, no less revealing than those previously discussed of the way of life held out as desirable by publicity. Much has been said of the growing prestige of speed in our contemporary society, with its increasingly rapid communications and its conquest of time and space. To what extent (we may ask) does advertising reflect our modern obsession with speed? Both in English- and in French-language publicity the emphasis is consistently placed on rapidity rather than on the contrary value of slowness or calm. "Vous filez en coup de vent à Rimouski! vous faites un saut à Edmunston" ["Quick as the wind you're in Rimouski! you make the trip to Edmunston in no time!"] (Montréal Matin, 23-5-67), one recent advertisement by a busline announced, while another, by the manufacturers of a well-known hair product, assured their customers that "instantanément Brylcreem améliore" ["Brylcreem improves your appearance instantly"] (La Presse, 18-12-54). The appeal of slowness, relatively infrequent in advertis-

ing, is especially so in periodicals published in the French language ($P = 0.05$ and 0.01). All things considered, there is an unmistakable tendency among advertisers to exalt the value of speed,¹ ultimately to the detriment of the contrary values of slowness and tranquillity.²

This emphasis on speed in contemporary advertising has been somewhat moderated by an increased interest in the value of safety in both French- and English-Canadian publicity. In contrast to the frequency with which they stress safety, advertisers seldom make an attempt to engage the prospective customer's spirit of adventure. The trend of development in this regard has, in fact, closely followed that already commented on with reference to the values of economic behaviour propounded in advertising between 1954 and 1967. While the frequency with which safety (i.e., the practical aspect of the product advertised) is mentioned has remained more or less stable, there has been an increase in the incidence of appeals made to the consumer's sense of adventure (i.e., the dream aspect).

The following are examples of advertisements utilizing the two values mentioned:

"Gage de sécurité ... votre armée" ["Your assurance of safety ... your armed forces"] (Le Devoir, 15-10-54).

"L'aventure vous attend avec les vêtements X" ["Adventure awaits you when you wear X clothes"] (Le Soleil, 5-5-67).

In what proportion does publicity emphasize the pleasant and the serious aspects of living? Does advertising contribute to the creation of what Huizinga calls "homo ludens,"³ in our consumption-oriented society? Does the population of Quebec profess a "fun morality" (Wolfenstein)? The publicity surveyed for this study was found, generally speaking, to concentrate on the pleasant, rather than the serious, aspects of life,⁴ and this was particularly true of advertising appearing in English-language periodicals ($P = 0.01$).

Surprisingly enough, despite the hedonism displayed in a great deal of commercial publicity, the trend during the thirteen year interval between 1954 and 1967 is one of increasing seriousness. The frequency of serious references in advertising has grown ($P = 0.01$), while that of hedonistic allusions has undergone a proportional decline ($P = 0.01$ and 0.10). Whereas the English-Canadian periodicals appear to be more or less uniformly pleasure-oriented in advertising content between 1954 and 1967, comparable French-Canadian publica-

Needless to say, individual publications vary as to the tendencies that they display. Thus, there is a decrease in Montréal Matin and Le Soleil and an increase in Chatelaine and Perspectives.

² The heterogeneity of publications is revealed, once again, by the different trends of the various periodicals: a considerable decrease in the case of Terre de Chez Nous and an increase in the cases of The Montreal Star and Perspectives.

³ Homo Ludens, Gallimard, Paris, Second Edition, 1951.

⁴ In some isolated instances, nevertheless, the concentration is overwhelmingly serious, as in Chatelaine, Perspectives, Terre de Chez Nous, and Montréal Matin.

tions exhibit a certain variation in tendency, some presenting more material of this kind and others less. Advertisements stressing the serious aspects of products and services have tended, in fact, to adopt more and more a tone of ironic understatement, apparently in an attempt to offset the prevailing hedonistic appeal in publicity: "La première banque au Canada ne donne pas de primes, pas de queues de tigres, pas d'échantillons, pas de timbres" ["Canada's first bank gives neither premiums nor tiger-tails nor free samples nor shopping stamps"] (Le Devoir, 12-7-67). Yet, despite its gradual diminution, the hedonistic appeal in advertising continues to dominate the publicity scene, with messages such as "Eastern: Destination plaisir" ["Eastern Airlines: Destination Pleasure"] (Le Devoir, 19-10-67) and "Destination Plaisir...Aujourd'hui c'est O'Keefe" ["Destination Pleasure...With O'Keefe's today"] (Le Soleil, 30-6-67).

Somewhat surprisingly, publicity utilizing the feminine image makes comparatively little reference to the antithetical values of naturalness and vanity, even though the frequency of these values has grown considerably between 1954 and 1967. The analysis of the two qualities in question yields interesting results, however, when it is carried out at the level of individual publications, for it brings to light the particular bias of each periodical to these ambiguous values. The emphasis, we find, in Chatelaine magazine and in Perspectives is above all on "naturalness"; in the daily Le Soleil, it is on "vanity". A comparison of English- and French-Canadian periodicals appears to reveal no significant pattern.

The following will suffice to serve as examples of advertisements exalting the values of vanity and naturalness: "Vous serez enviées, admirée, aimée" ["You will be envied, admired, loved"] (Terre de Chez Nous, 18-1-67); and "Tegrin éclaircit votre peau et en restaure la douceur naturelle" ["Tegrin clears your skin and restores its natural softness"] (Perspectives, 14-1-67).

As far as the antithetical values of femininity and masculinity are concerned, by their very selection the advertisements surveyed in this study (all illustrative of the female sex) were found to make virtually no appeal to virility. By contrast, femininity itself was

It may be noted here that the determination of what constituted an appeal to femininity or to masculinity was not left to the individual researcher's subjective judgment but was based invariably on indications provided by the advertisement itself. Thus, the researcher would classify as "feminine" only such publicity material as was found to make explicit reference to femininity (as exemplified by the advertiser itself) or to identify the product expressly as one contributing to the user's femininity. The same rigorous criteria were applied to the selection of advertisements classified as "masculine" in appeal.

invoked in no less than one advertisement out of every three, with one in four mentioning the value of tenderness. There appears to be no significant difference in this respect between the practices of English- and French-Canadian advertisers, although one notices a greater than average emphasis in the former both on femininity and on tenderness ($P = 0.05$ and 0.10). Turning to a tendential analysis of advertising material between 1954 and 1967, one discerns, once again, no single homogeneous trend. The greater frequency with which femininity is invoked in certain periodicals is more or less cancelled out by the decreased frequency of its occurrence in others. The trend of development here is equally undecisive in the English- and French-Canadian press.

d) Summary

What composite model of human behaviour emerges from the combination of values advocated by contemporary publicity? At the risk of generalizing our findings, we may say that advertising favours a mode of life founded on essentially practical values (such as those of utility, ease and safety), not without recognizing, however, the values of novelty, originality and pleasure. It shows indifference or disfavour to all extreme forms of human behaviour whether they involve an excessive striving for excellence, a foolhardy quest for risk or adventure, or a withdrawal into passivity. It shows, furthermore, no particular preference for traditional or old-fashioned modes of behaviour any more than it does for masculinity or virility.

While considerations of economy, pleasure and conformity are generally on the decline in publicity, other values are being increasingly mentioned by advertisers. These include femininity, naturalness and a serious attitude to existence, as well as a number of values associated with ostentatious behaviour, such as vanity, originality, luxury, gratuitousness and superfluity.

Occasionally, publicity attempts to combine the appeal of seemingly opposite values, making deliberate use of ambiguous statements to engage the sympathy of different personalities. Thus, the same advertisement may appeal at once to the value of

1.- The traditional and the novel:

"Nous l'affirmons depuis 60 ans...Electrohome anticipe l'avenir pour vous donner maintenant les meilleurs appareils!" ["We have said it for 60 years...Electrohome looks to the future to give you better appliances now!"] (Television set advertisement, Chatelaine, July 1967);

2.- Dream fantasy and practical life:

"Helena Rubinstein jette le printemps dans vos cheveux. Chacun de ces produits est une merveille. Utilisés ensemble, ils accomplissent des miracles!" ["Helena Rubinstein puts a touch of spring in your hair. Each of these products works like magic. Together, they can accomplish miracles!"] (Hair preparations advertisement, Chatelaine, April 1967);

3.- Several ambivalent qualities:

"Grande ou petite, luxueuse ou économique, classique ou sportive, ou tout à la fois...L'une des Buick '68 est faite pour vous!" ["Large or small, luxurious or economical, sporty or dignified, or all these things at once...There is a 68' Buick built especially for you!"] (Automobile advertisement, Le Soleil, 28-10-67).

The ambiguities most often coupled in advertising are the following: luxury and economy, femininity and masculinity, originality and conformity, necessity and superfluity, tenderness and virility. By contrast, the qualities most ~~radically~~ opposed to each other¹ are novelty and tradition, ease and effort, adventure and risk, femininity and masculinity.²

In conclusion we may say that the frequential analysis of advertisements utilizing the feminine image reveals the overwhelming preponderance of practical over imaginary values, especially in the case of English-Canadian publicity. Whereas, at the level of social behaviour, the emphasis is primarily on novelty and originality, at the level of individual action, the aspects emphasized are activity, speed, safety, ease, pleasure and femininity. The last three values enumerated are given particular preference in English-language publicity.

Finally, a tendential analysis of our data indicates that the three most prominent values -- originality, activity and speed -- have registered an additional increase in their frequencies between 1954 and 1967. The frequency of incidence of "practical" values has

¹ That is to say, that the pair of values of each frequency, one of each pair being among the most frequent values and the other among the least frequent.

² Curiously enough, this pair of values appears at once among the most polarized and among the most ambiguous ones.

remained, by contrast, relatively unchanged, with an appreciable increase in the use of dream-fantasy and a proportional diminution in the use of the hedonistic appeal.

Conclusions

Our analysis of the various situations in which the feminine advertising model appears enables us to formulate three general observations. They are (1) that women are usually represented in an attitude of self-orientation; (2) that they are frequently isolated from reality; and (3) that their traditional association with the life of the family has weakened and fallen into disfavour.

Let us clarify each of these observations in turn. Our frequential analysis of publicity messages has shown that the advertising concept of women is predominantly one of self-absorbed personalities turned inward upon themselves. The feminine actions most commonly represented in advertising are essentially individualistic in scope, and the models themselves are usually depicted out of all contact with objects and people. The isolation of the feminine subject is confirmed, moreover, by the tendential analysis of the publicity image of women over the years. There is an unmistakable tendency to dissociate women from concrete reality, and this manifests itself in various forms: (1) a progressive decline of 'realistic' situations in advertising; (2) an increased readiness among publicists to present women in a state of non-involvement and inactivity; (3) a growing tendency to isolate women from the social as well as the physical context; (4) a progressive trend to dissociate models from the products which they are intended to advertise; and, finally, (5) a growing emphasis on the values of personal wish-fulfillment and dream.

From all this we might conclude that publicity offers us a reflection of womanhood essentially isolated and cut off from reality, defined in terms of her physical characteristics rather than of her role in society. The reasons for this emphasis on the personal attributes and role of women in advertising are not difficult to guess: publicity addresses itself to women as potential consumers, and consumption is an eminently individualistic function.

according to the roles assigned to models in advertising, expressed in percentages

	1967						1968		
	Female	Male	Both	Unk.	Other	Unk.	Female	Male	Both
Weak	85.1	100.0	91.5	86.9			86.9	86.9	86.9
Authentic	12.9	13.5	10.0	15.1			15.1	15.1	15.1
Use of certain advertising techniques									
Authenticity	8.2	17.0	15.9	8.2			8.2	15.1	8.2
Humor	20.2	18.1	18.9	21.0			21.0	20.2	21.0
Color	18.4	12.1	7.2	15.1			15.1	3.0	1.0
Exoticism	5.2	11.0	2.7	15.2			15.2	7.7	11.0
Unfamiliar									
of the message:	20.0	14.0	8.7	17.0			17.0	8.7	14.0
women only									
men only	11.1	8.0	1.5	5.0			5.0	1.5	1.5
both sexes	10.0	17.7	12.4	12.0			12.0	12.4	12.0

The percentages correspond to numbers of mentions. For each technique listed are not mutually exclusive.

dress) of publicity models, according to the roles assigned to them in advertisements

	1962					1974				
	Number	Percent	Age	Height	Weight	Body	Length	Area	Area	Temperature
Age:										
young women	20.2	19.9	22.8	165.0	55.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
35 to 55 years old	10.1	5.0	42.0	165.0	12.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
Elderly	1.2	1.0	-	-	7.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
		10.0			10.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
hair colour:										
. Blondes	10.0	10.0	10.0	165.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
brunettes and redheads	10.0	10.0	10.0	165.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
	10.0	10.0	40.5	165.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
gray and white-	10.0	10.0	10.0	165.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
	10.0	10.0	10.0	165.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
	10.0	10.0	10.0	165.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
Naked, half-naked	10.0	10.0	10.0	165.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
or partially dressed	10.0	10.0	10.0	165.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1
questionably dressed	21.7	3.0	20.8	165.0	25.9	5.5	5.4	25.6	25.6	22.2
dressed in sports apparel	14.9	25.3	3.7	165.0	35.8	5.0	8.6	16.1	16.1	14.1
	10.0	10.0	10.0	165.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.1

beauty, health, youth and elegance; and finally four moral characteristics: vitality, gaiety, luck and sociability.¹

As we have previously observed, it is the physical qualities of the publicity model to which reference is most frequently made, and her intellectual qualities that are least frequently mentioned. Our object now is to discover whether this pattern remains unchanged whatever the particular role of the advertising model may be. Thus, in a family role, one might expect that particular emphasis might be placed on the moral qualities of the subject; in the same context, it would interest us to know which of the physical and intellectual qualities would be stressed and in what order. As for the sexual and leisure roles of the model, here we would anticipate especial attention being paid, in the first place, to her physical characteristics, in the second, to her moral attributes, and last of all to her intellectual qualities. As far as the work role itself is concerned, it remains an unknown quantity up to this point in our study; but we should now have an opportunity to verify to what extent publicity is prepared to associate intellectual qualities with feminine work. (See Table 16).

¹ The coefficients of association were computed so as to lay equal emphasis on all roles, irrespective of their relative frequencies of occurrence. What we have here, in fact, is a basis for the comparison of various roles, each quality mentioned being theoretically susceptible of being associated with equal force with each of the roles. Given the high number of data to be analyzed, the construction of these tables of probability involved considerable difficulty. To make their interpretation easier, we adopted a system of notation based on certain psycho-sociological studies, wherein the coefficient of association denoting the rarity of an event is replaced by one expressing the degree of surprise provoked by the event. Accordingly, we selected an arbitrary frequency level (30%) to serve as a line of demarcation between positive associations (represented by the symbol "+") and negative associations (represented by "-"), to show the frequency or infrequency with which the various qualities are associated with the various feminine roles. The statistical tables which follow will, accordingly, simply describe a series of positive or negative associations between roles and qualities. Tables reflecting the degree of association between "qualities" and "roles, per year" have been compiled for a) all advertisements from 1954 to 1967 (with the exception of the English Chatelaine); b) comparable French-language material (L'Espresso and Le Soleil, 1954 and 1967), and c) comparable English-language material (Toronto Daily Star and the London Free Press, 1954 and 1967).



Our expectations, based on the predictions of common sense, have been disappointed. Evidently, publicity associates a stable and unchanging pattern of qualities with women, irrespective of their particular social roles. Thus, there is a constant positive association between all roles and the qualities of beauty, youth, elegance and gaiety, whereas in all roles very infrequent mention is made of the intuition, the intelligence, the culture and the wholesomeness of the subject. This pattern, reflecting no changes between 1954 and 1967, emphasizes almost exclusively the physical attributes of women, virtually ignoring their intellectual qualities. Indeed, the qualities associated with women in advertising are all situated on the levels of 'being' and 'having'; the aspect of 'doing' which constitutes the third imperative of human accomplishment, is virtually nonexistent. Apart from this, each role is characterized by a special set of attributes considered appropriate to it: the qualities associated with the work role are talent and vitality; those associated with the family role are the totality of moral characteristics (three); that appropriate to the sexual role, is luck; and, lastly, that most often connected with leisure and pastimes is sociability.

In comparison with 1967, the feminine roles represented in 1954 advertising were even less differentiated from one another from the point of view of the qualities associated with them. One may, therefore, ^{discern} a slow progression towards the diversification of the feminine image in terms of differentiated feminine roles, even though the underlying pattern of emphasis on beauty, youth, elegance and gaiety has remained unchanged.

A comparison of English- with French-language publicity material indicates little overall difference between the two. A certain number of characteristics have shown a tendency to increase in frequency between 1954 and 1967, above all in the sphere of the family role. There are, accordingly, many more qualities, especially of a moral character, associated with this role in English-language publicity than in its French-language counterpart, with beauty, vitality, gaiety and sociability often ascribed to women in their family role. The pattern of qualities associated with the sexual and leisure roles being practically identical in advertisements addressed to the two ethnic groups, it is in the work role that we find once again a significant

Table 1. Values and the roles of a vertising models, based on the total number of advertisements

	Early						Late			
	Model	Value	Age	Volume	Quality	Amount	Age	Volume	Quality	Amount
1. Information	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. Persuasion	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3. Social	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4. Economic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5. Cultural	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6. Environmental	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7. Political	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8. Religious	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9. Scientific	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10. Artistic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11. Historical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12. Literary	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13. Musical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14. Dramatic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15. Cinematic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16. Televisual	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17. Electronic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18. Mechanical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19. Chemical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20. Biological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21. Geological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22. Astronomical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23. Meteorological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24. Oceanographic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25. Botanical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26. Zoological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27. Paleontological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28. Archaeological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29. Anthropological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30. Sociological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31. Psychological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32. Educational	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33. Medical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34. Legal	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35. Political	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36. Economic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37. Cultural	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38. Religious	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39. Scientific	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40. Artistic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41. Historical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42. Literary	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
43. Musical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44. Dramatic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45. Cinematic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
46. Televisual	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47. Electronic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48. Mechanical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49. Chemical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50. Biological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
51. Geological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
52. Astronomical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
53. Meteorological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
54. Oceanographic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
55. Botanical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
56. Zoological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
57. Paleontological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
58. Archaeological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
59. Anthropological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
60. Sociological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
61. Psychological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
62. Educational	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
63. Medical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
64. Legal	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
65. Political	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
66. Economic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
67. Cultural	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
68. Religious	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
69. Scientific	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
70. Artistic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
71. Historical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
72. Literary	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
73. Musical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
74. Dramatic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
75. Cinematic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
76. Televisual	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
77. Electronic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
78. Mechanical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
79. Chemical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
80. Biological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
81. Geological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
82. Astronomical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
83. Meteorological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
84. Oceanographic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
85. Botanical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
86. Zoological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
87. Paleontological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
88. Archaeological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
89. Anthropological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
90. Sociological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
91. Psychological	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
92. Educational	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
93. Medical	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
94. Legal	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
95. Political	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
96. Economic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
97. Cultural	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
98. Religious	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
99. Scientific	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
100. Artistic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Personality
 Abstracted personality types, based on the results of the
 1954 study, are shown in the following table in
 the form of a summary of the results.

		<u>Attributes</u>	
		youth elegance beauty gaiety	originality activity femininity
	Sexual	youth beauty elegance gaiety	practicality-dream
	Work	youth elegance beauty vitality	practicality activity originality
	Leisure	youth gaiety beauty elegance	originality dream activity
1954	Family	youth gaiety vitality beauty-elegance	practicality femininity dream
	Sexual	youth sociability beauty elegance	originality dream femininity
	Work	youth beauty vitality gaiety	originality practicality
	Leisure	youth gaiety sociability elegance	originality dream practicality

1954
 1954
 1954
 1954
 1954

<u>Year</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Values</u>
1950	Family	luck youth elegance vitality	originality practicality activity
	Sexual	youth-gaiety beauty luck	originality practicality dream
	Work	youth elegance talent beauty	originality activity dream
	Leisure	gaiety youth elegance sociability	dream activity femininity
1954	Family	youth vitality beauty health-gaiety	originality practicality activity
	Sexual	beauty elegance youth gaiety	originality femininity dream
	Work	beauty youth talent gaiety	originality femininity practicality
	Leisure	gaiety youth beauty elegance	originality femininity dream

The qualities associated with the family role (youth, elegance, beauty and gaiety) are such as we find in dominant position in all publicity, suggesting a way of life that is not only active but also full of originality and imaginative appeal. In this sense, advertising is an escape from reality, inviting the mother or the housewife to forget for a moment the dull routine of daily chores and to escape into a fantasy of originality. English-language advertisements generally conform to this pattern except in that they introduce certain elements of ambiguity into the style of living that they associate with the family role. The emphasis in these publicity messages is both on fantasy and on reality, on dream-fulfillment and on practical values. French-language advertising, on the other hand, is not concerned with this ambivalence: rather, it stresses the importance of activity and vitality in family life, introducing the element of luck or good fortune.

In the interval from 1954 to 1967, the publicity image of women's family role has undergone a certain modification. On the one hand, the qualities associated with the subject begin henceforth to conform to a standard pattern; on the other, the life-style advocated evolves from one stressing the ambiguity of dream and reality towards one dominated by originality and activity. A comparison of these two years indicates that at least in English-language advertising the characteristics ascribed to women playing a family role has tended to remain relatively stable. As for the way of life proposed, there has been a movement here from femininity towards dream. Similarly, little appears to have changed in the concept of the family role as presented by French advertising, except that from 1954 to 1967 the attributes of luck and elegance have taken the place of the qualities of health and vitality. In this respect there has been a change of emphasis from reality to appearance in the family role.

The qualities associated with the sexual role are much the same as those found in association with the others (except that, in 1954, the "sociability" of the subject was emphasized). The life-style held out as desirable in this sphere is one dominated by originality, even though the ambivalence of imaginativeness and practicality is still present here. The feminine sexual role as defined in English-

language publicity conforms to the general pattern, except in one respect, namely, that the sociability of the subject is still among the attributes mentioned in 1967. The female sexual role represented in French-language publicity is likewise close to the general pattern, but here, as in the case of the family role, the subject's good fortune is more frequently stressed than her elegance is.

The interval from 1954 to 1967 has seen little change in the sexual role of women as defined by publicity as a whole. With reference to the qualities ascribed to this function, gaiety was more often mentioned in 1967 than sociability. As for the values associated with sexuality, curiously enough femininity is no longer in a position of pre-eminence. In effect, the attribute of femininity shows an intriguing displacement: whereas in 1954, it was associated with the sexual and the family role, it is now found only in conjunction with the latter. In English-Canadian advertising, by contrast, the pattern has remained altogether unchanged, while in French-Canadian publicity we observe a palpable alteration in the sexual role, more emphasis being placed on practicality and good fortune than on elegance and femininity.

The work role is the only one with which publicity generally associates the attribute of vitality. Apart from possessing this quality, working women are characterized by advertisers as being young, elegant and beautiful. The manner of living held out as particularly desirable in, and suited to, this role is one compounded of originality and practical activity. The model of the working woman represented in English-Canadian advertising conforms with the general pattern in every respect as far as qualities are concerned. With reference to values, however, there is a greater than general emphasis on the femininity of the woman at work. By contrast, French-language Quebec advertisers stress, in addition to certain physical attributes, the talent and femininity of the working woman.

A study of tendencies from 1954 to 1967 reveals that the former emphasis on the gaiety of the female subject at work has yielded to and has been replaced by a stress on her elegance. There has occurred, in this sense, a standardization in the qualities associated with the

work role. On the other hand, we note no change in the three values most frequently associated with feminine work. In English-Canadian advertising the only significant departure from the 1954 pattern is a new emphasis on the femininity of the working woman, whereas in French-Canadian publicity we notice a shift from gaiety to elegance and from practical living to a life of greater activity.

Women represented in a leisure role in advertisements are generally described in terms of four qualities: youth, gaiety, beauty and elegance. The life-style held out as attractive to these is one characterized by originality and by practical values and at the same time oriented towards wish-fulfilment and dream. More particularly, English-Canadian advertising describes the feminine subject in terms of these qualities, adding to the picture one further characteristic: that of femininity. As for French-Canadian advertising, here sociability takes the place of beauty and femininity the place of originality.

A comparative study of all advertisements of 1954 and 1967 reveals little change in the publicity concept of the feminine leisure role. The attribute of beauty does replace sociability and the emphasis on the values of practical life does yield, however, to a new stress on activity. With particular reference to English-Canadian advertising, we find only minor modifications in the image of women in a leisure role: the only new note here is an appeal to beauty and to femininity. On the other hand, the image undergoes the following changes in Quebec-French advertising, between 1954 and 1967: the attribute of sociability yields to that of beauty, while activity and femininity take the place of originality and practicality.

Conclusions

In analyzing the publicity image of women we come face to face once again with that ambiguity which appears to be the very essence of advertising: the message is at once the product of a mass-culture and accordingly addressed to all individuals, and it is a personal communication which must reach each potential consumer singly so as

lities associated with the various feminine roles tends to confirm our previous findings: whatever the nature of the role represented, the same cluster of attributes and the same complex of values are associated with women featured in advertising.

Despite the underlying cultural homogeneity of the feminine image, there is a superficial tendency to diversify and to differentiate between female models according to role. In presenting women in the family role, advertising urges them to escape from reality; in picturing them in a sexual role, it stresses the importance of their physical appearance; in depicting them in work situations, it emphasizes the merits of rationality and originality; and, finally, in showing them in leisure roles, it incites them to follow a practical and agreeable style of life.

In conclusion, to answer our initial inquiry, we may say that there is indeed a standard (and, consequently, a stereotyped) female image projected by advertising. This image is superficially varied and diversified according to the role of the subject, so as to facilitate identification between the prospective consumer and the publicity model, through the recognition of their identical roles. Heterogeneity, in other words, as we find it, is merely an artifice employed by advertisers to fit the message to the personalities of the consumers addressed; the sole reason for the use of heterogeneous advertising being its greater commercial effectiveness.

Table 15. Comparison of the
results of the study conducted by
different categories of workers.

a) Type of products

Category of workers		Men	Women's	Children	Adults	Older	Young
Cotton / Wool / Synthetic	1974	10	10	10	10	10	10
	1975	10	10	10	10	10	10
Wool / Cotton	1974	10	10	10	10	10	10
	1975	10	10	10	10	10	10
Wool / Cotton / Synthetic	1974	10	10	10	10	10	10
	1975	10	10	10	10	10	10
Wool / Cotton / Synthetic	1974	10	10	10	10	10	10
	1975	10	10	10	10	10	10

↓ - 100% reduction (100% reduction)
↑ - 100% increase (100% increase)

↑ - 100% increase (100% increase)
↓ - 100% reduction (100% reduction)

b) Type of products

- 1. Cotton / Wool / Synthetic (1974-1975)
- 2. Cotton / Wool / Synthetic (1974-1975)
- 3. Cotton / Wool / Synthetic (1974-1975)

Note: The same results were obtained in the three categories of workers.

<div> <div>of readers</div> </div>													
	Luxury	Healthfulness	Durability	Business	Usefulness	Convenience	Efficiency	Love, eroticism	Beauty, elegance	Safety	Sweetness	"Quality"	Speed
Intel./non	1944	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
	1954	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Rural/urban	1944	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
	1954	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
sexes	1944	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
	1954	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
English/...	1944	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
	1954	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓

Table 1. Summary of the results of the

Summary of results		Year	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2019
1990-1999	1990	10	10	10	10
	1991	10	10	10	10
2000-2009	2000	10	10	10	10
	2001	10	10	10	10
2010-2019	2010	10	10	10	10
	2011	10	10	10	10

By contrast, making the comparison at the level of the rural/urban dichotomy, we find that only family products are advertised with the same frequency in periodicals catering to these environments. As for the two remaining comparisons -- those dealing with tabloid-versus-intellectual publications and with women's magazines-versus-magazines with a general readership -- there exist here as many differences as there are similarities between the types of products publicized. On the other hand, if we compare the discrepancies in

tendency towards increasing heterogeneity, that is, towards a growing diversification of the products offered to diverse segments of the public. Only advertising promoting women's apparel accounts for approximately the same proportion of publicity space in all periodicals.

b) Qualities associated with the product

A comparative analysis of the qualities associated with products in advertisements published in various classes of newspapers indicates a considerable degree of disparity between periodicals. In describing merchandise for promotion purposes, advertisers tend to choose different clusters of qualities when addressing an urban or a rural audience. On the other hand, ethno-culturally based differences (that is, between English- and French-speaking consumers) are relatively less conspicuous. Both with reference to the qualities associated with products and with reference to the type of merchandise advertised, there appears to be a tendency towards diversification; in other words, the conventional view is that in the present, and increasingly so, the cultural and urban differences between various classes of consumers, whether these differences involve the question of sex, culture, education or level of urbanization.

c) Feminine activity

Passing from a discussion of the utilitarian content of advertisements (their description of products) to an examination of their cultural content (the feminine image), we notice a dramatic shift in advertising techniques. In effect, the spheres of activity in which female models are represented as functioning differ very little from one cultural milieu to the next; wherever we look, we find the same standard reflection of a feminine type. What is more, there is clearly a tendency favouring uniformization revealed through a comparison of our 1954 and 1967 data.

d) Values

The values to which advertisers appeal tend towards uniformity rather than diversity in all comparisons other than that of English- and French-Canadian publications. The existence of this difference between English and French periodicals is the more curious since, as we have seen, in their purely utilitarian content advertisements appear to make no distinction between the English- and French-language consumer. By contrast, the cultural content of publicity is at once differentiated along ethno-cultural lines and relatively undifferentiated within the bounds of either ethnic group. The life-style reflected by Quebec publications is homogeneous, whether the publications in question serve an intellectual or a working-class public, a predominantly urban or rural environment, a feminine readership or an audience composed of both sexes. These observations are further confirmed, and their prevalence apparently reinforced, by the tendency of development in time. Whereas the values invoked in English- and French-Canadian advertising have tended to become more highly differentiated, there is, at the same time, a trend favouring the disappearance of traditional differences between various cultural and regional sectors of the Quebec public.

The two tables which follow summarize these comparisons both with reference to the similarities between various sectors of the public and with reference to the tendency towards homogeneity, based on a comparison of differences between sectors in 1954 and in 1967. In drawing up these tables, the four previous tabulations a, b, c and d were interpreted as a set of positive and negative symbols (i.e., significantly different or not significantly different, more differentiation or less differentiation). The percentages shown in the first table correspond to the proportion of F (non-different frequencies) to the total number of cases. As for the second table, the percentages here represent the number of cases in which a tendency towards uniformization (↓) was noted over the total number of cases.

Rate of similarity

	Products	Women
Type	a) 52%	c) 75%
Values	b) 65%	d) 55%

Tendency towards uniformization

	Products	Women	
Type	a) 35%	c) 47%	Type
Values	b) 40%	d) 40%	Values

One conclusion is inescapable in this case. In describing products advertisers are clearly conscious of differences in the needs and values of various sectors of the consumer public; their emphasis, accordingly, is on the diversity of the merchandise offered for sale and on catering to particular needs. On the contrary, in using the feminine image to promote merchandise, advertisers project a relatively stereotyped portrait and one which tends increasingly to become so (especially in respect of the values stressed) through the years. Thus, on the purely utilitarian level, the particular needs of diverse segments of the public are obviously taken into account, whereas, on the contrary, in its cultural aspects the feminine image diffused by publicity becomes increasingly more homogeneous. These observations hold true of three out of the four dimensions in which comparisons were made: level of education, level of urbanization and sex. As for the fourth dimension considered, that of ethnic difference, we find that this comes into very little play in determining the kind of merchandise advertised, its particular qualities, or the type and character of the feminine image used in promoting it in urban newspapers with general circulations. The sharpest differentiation in this dimension occurs at the level of cultural values, the life-styles proposed by English- and French-language periodicals being clearly distinct and becoming increasingly different through the years.

But how can we describe the feminine image itself, this image which, by a curious irony, is even more undifferentiated and standard than the products which it is used to promote? The question is an important one for, as sociological studies on advertising have shown, the quality of this image influences not only the economic behaviour of consumers but their cultural preconceptions also. Indeed, we have every reason to think that the models propagated by publicity play a

part, both directly and indirectly, in shaping the cultural norms and values of women in all walks of life.

The female model conventionally presented in advertising is above all, a passive person, seldom associated with any special form of activity and rarely exhibiting any serious commitment in life. In not less than one-third of the total number of cases, she fulfills a purely decorative function. Even when she is shown in an attitude of active involvement, the activity pictured most frequently is of the leisure variety. The importance of this sphere of activity has increased since 1954 until in our day it accounts for almost one-third of the situations in which the female model is featured. By contrast, in the periodicals of 1967, publicity models were less frequently pictured in domestic roles (8% as against 23%), and even their family functions have been relegated to a place of decreasing importance (15% as against 25%). Certainly, they represent only imperfectly the growing phenomenon of female involvement in professional life in this country (8% as against 9.5%). At the same time, at the opposite end of the scale, their sexuality is consistently emphasized, with nearly one model out of every five being shown in a specifically heterosexual role.

But what of the personal characteristics of the models most frequently depicted in advertising? The feminine image with which advertisers invite their prospective female consumers to identify is, in 85% of all cases, of a young woman under the age of 30. She is young and elegant, beautiful and gay: in a word, a dream-woman who, in one-half of the advertisements, is presented detached from any actual situation, out of touch both with material objects and with people. The dress in which she is most frequently featured is sports apparel.

Such in a nutshell is the dominant basic stereotype offered to the public -- a stereotype onto which are grafted minor variations according to the role in which the model is cast, as we have already explained in Chapter X of this study.

2. The news

Has the process of standardization affected the nature of femin-

ine activity and behaviour as reported in the periodical press? The answer to this question must be, categorically, no. On the contrary, we know that the publicity image of women is greatly at variance with the facts and that the nature of feminine behaviour shows sharp polarization along the two social coordinates -- the rural/urban and the working-class/intelligentsia -- that we have applied to its study. Let us examine this reflection of women in all its diversity by isolating the image of the female subject as it emerges from each newspaper surveyed.

a) The rural environment:

News reports seldom focus attention on criminal or passive feminine behaviour in periodicals addressed to a rural audience. The women that make their appearance in these publications are, on the contrary, active subjects, even though their activities are usually conformist, rarely innovative and almost never revolutionary. The locus of rural feminine actions is most often areas traditionally defined as the proper province of women. The actions themselves are less often concerned with professional life than those reported in the metropolitan press, although they reflect a greater involvement in communal commitments and in leisure activities. To judge from the content of the rural newspaper, the actions of the feminine subject are seldom directed towards private individuals but rather, more often than in an urban environment, towards the group or the community as a whole. Incidentally, the community as such is seldom the object of feminine criticism and its values are very infrequently questioned. In approximately one-quarter of all feminine news items published in the rural periodicals, the subject is a group or collective rather than an individual acting in her own right.

The characteristics that distinguish this image of the female subject are conformity, traditionalism and, to a certain extent, community spirit. But the conformity of rural women is only relative: in fact, in no other regional sector has undergone so radical a transformation since 1954 as the rural has. Compared with the reflection of female behaviour thirteen years before, the image of feminine action in the rural milieu in 1967 is less conformist, more innovative, less confined to traditional spheres of competence and even more

consciously oriented towards the concerns of society as a whole than previously. This new enlightenment expresses itself not only in actual tangible achievements but also in a newly-gained articulateness.

b. The lower-class environment:

The dominant female type featured in newspapers catering to a working-class milieu has several traits in common with the stereotype familiar to us from publicity. Indeed, the image presented by the tabloid press stands in powerful contrast to that emerging from the rural newspaper as well as from the intellectual periodical. For one thing, about one-half of the feminine news items printed in tabloids are of very slight consequence: they concern miscellaneous facts, reports of crimes and of passive behaviour. The majority of articles dealing with active behaviour describe conformist actions, for in this milieu innovative actions are less frequently met with than even in an urban environment. Feminine behaviour here virtually never calls into question the traditional inequality of the sexes and only on the rarest occasions goes beyond the confines of conventional feminine competence. The orientation of actions reported is overwhelmingly private and the subject that acts is likewise, almost invariably, an individual. The emphasis in the news is decidedly on leisure and entertainment (more so than in any other class of newspaper), while articles dealing with professional life are encountered less frequently than in all other periodicals. The news reported, such as it is, is devoted overwhelmingly to stars and celebrities, the highest number of female subjects mentioned being young and attractive.

So far from having decreased in importance, this image of the passive and uncommitted woman has actually made considerably headway in the tabloid press during the last thirteen years. To sum up, the news in this species of publication is most often pointless, the subject passive, the action conformist and pleasure-oriented. The feminine image itself is diametrically opposed to that presented by intellectual publications, such as Le Devoir, while the trend of development appears to be in every respect the reverse of that observed in the case of rural newspapers.

c) The intellectual environment

The feminine image that emerges into view in Le Devoir, a publication intended for readers with a higher-than-average standard of

education, is one that impresses us by its dynamism and its spirit of social commitment. The newspaper contains few items dealing with miscellaneous facts, crimes or mere passive behaviour. The actions reported are most often oriented towards society as a whole, which ultimately defines the social condition of women. In Le Devoir we see clear evidence of the expansion of female activity into domains traditionally reserved for the male sex. Reports of professional activity and of social commitment occur in greater numbers here than in other newspapers. Corollary-wise, conformist behaviour accounts for only one-third of the actions reported, whereas innovative actions represent 37% of the news. One-half of the actions included take the form of recognition accorded for past accomplishment and of speech outlining new programmes of action. The speeches, as the achievements reported, more often reveal some spirit of social commitment than in any of the other newspapers surveyed. The subject of actions is frequently not an individual but a group or collective acting in concert -- the proportion of news items where this is the case is 25%, approximately the same as in the rural newspaper. Finally, the individual subject is often (more so than in other periodicals) a recognized personality who has achieved some distinction by reason of her own past efforts or activities.

Is the periodical that we have characterized above simply a static entity that has remained unchanged through the years, or does it represent the product of an evolution that may be ascribed as much to a new journalistic awareness as to actual developments in the milieu which it describes? Of the two alternative possibilities, the latter is undoubtedly correct. Pointless news items which, in 1954, accounted for 30% of the periodical's content, represented, in 1967, only 6% of the articles printed. On the other hand, the emphasis on innovative action has increased dramatically, from 15% to 37% of all actions reported, and this development has been accompanied by a diminution in the frequency of conformist behaviour, from 49% to 34%. The proportion of female activity within areas traditionally considered as male preserves is higher, verbal activity is more frequent and critical, and recognition for past accomplishments is more often encountered here than in any other newspaper. Thus, within the same geographical area and the same period, the tabloid and the intellectual press have developed in diametrically opposed directions and, in effect, present to their readers totally different views of the feminine fact.

d) The regional newspaper

Le Soleil, a daily in general circulation serving the region of Quebec City, is rather more difficult to characterize than the three newspapers previously described. It takes its place clearly between the rural and metropolitan periodicals as far as the frequency with which it reports futile actions is concerned. It approximates the rural type in its practice of printing mostly items dealing with active behaviour, and the metropolitan type in its relative emphasis on the various sectors of female activity, divided about equally between society as a whole and traditional feminine concerns. The proportion of innovative actions stands half-way between that typical of the rural and of the metropolitan newspaper, while the number of conformist actions reported is less. The types of activities mentioned in its pages are not unlike those commonly represented in Le Devoir: there is considerable emphasis on actions connected with professional life and commitment while relatively less attention is paid to leisure activities. Speech is a mode of action frequently utilized, and tangible actions themselves tend, on the whole, to be more often creative. Actions are less often privately motivated than in a metropolitan milieu, though more often than in a rural environment. The character of the social subject itself resembles closely that found in metropolitan areas.

In every respect, the evolution described by Le Soleil is parallel to that observed in the case of Terre de chez nous. There has been a gradual movement from traditional forms of feminine action and conformist behaviour to more creative and committed activity. Be this as it may, Le Soleil nonetheless retains its lead over the rural newspaper, which exhibits a certain degree of cultural lag.

e) French-language newspapers in general circulation

With reference to the material that makes up its contents, La Presse, a metropolitan daily catering to a large and indiscriminate audience, takes its place midway between Montréal matin and Le Devoir. This intermediate position is shown by its proportion of articles dealing with futile action and active behaviour, by its relative emphasis on various types of activity and spheres of behaviour, and lastly by the use it makes of speech. Nevertheless, there is, in La Presse, comparatively infrequent reference made to activities of a

traditionally feminine nature and more frequent mention of those concerning society at large.

Of all periodicals surveyed in this study, La Presse presents the most stable feminine image and exhibits the least tendency towards change. The reflection that it offers of feminine behaviour has remained unaltered in its general aspects, both with reference to the modalities of action and the spheres of activity. Although more frequent attention is now paid to passive behaviour than before, there are, at the same time, fewer news items dealing with conformist behaviour and with actions confined to the traditional spheres of feminine competence. A larger proportion of news items devoted to active behaviour, moreover, describe innovations.

f) English-language newspapers in general circulation

Throughout this work we have made repeated comparisons between English- and French-language newspapers in general circulation addressed to urban readers, basing ourselves on data collected from The Montreal Star, The Toronto Star and The London Free Press, on the one hand, and on those gleaned from La Presse and Le Soleil, on the other. Our comparisons have shown little difference between the type of news printed in the English- and in the French-language press, with approximately the same proportional emphasis on miscellaneous facts, police news and passive behaviour. Be this as it may, we did find certain differences between the contents of the actions reported in these periodicals. Generally speaking, the English-Canadian newspapers present a far more conservative view of women than do their French-Canadian counterparts. The actions which the former report are more often conformist than those in the latter, and are frequently confined to what might be called the traditional spheres of feminine action. Innovation is of rarer occurrence and where it occurs is usually less radical than in the French-language press. Speech, less often encountered, tends to be more neutral in orientation in the English-Canadian newspapers, and the actions reported less frequently reveal a sense of social commitment.

g) Periodicals in general circulation, both English and French

In the two pages which follow, we have set forth a series of comparisons between aspects of feminine action as these are represented in English- and French-language newspapers published in 1954 and 1967. The majority of the differences observed in 1967 already existed (it will be noticed) in 1954: a greater emphasis on conformist behaviour, a lesser stress on innovation, a more frequent reference to leisure activities, a higher proportion of collective subjects, and a lower incidence among individual subjects of married women. What is very important, however, is that, despite these differences, the urban women of Quebec and Ontario appear to have evolved in the same direction. In no case are the tendencies squarely opposed to each other, even though in Quebec the development has taken a direction more clearly in favour of social and feminine dynamism. The gaps that existed in 1954 have, in other words, widened by 1967. While the difference between the frequencies of conformist behaviour has remained the same (12%), that between the proportions of innovative actions has increased from zero to 13%. The increased use of 'speech', incidentally, is a feature found only in the French-Canadian milieu and has no corresponding equivalent in English-Canada. Comparatively speaking, the activity of the French-Canadian woman is more often social in orientation and less often directed towards traditional feminine concerns. The English-Canadian woman is more often pictured in a leisure role than her French-Canadian sister, while the latter takes the lead in the sector of work. The feminine subject is more often collective in French- than in English-language newspapers, with married women more active in both milieux than are single or unmarried women. Such, at any rate, is the image reflected by English- and French-language daily newspapers concerning the activities of urban women.

Assuming that the news content of periodicals give a reliable index of social activity, the conclusion is inescapable that Canadian women play for the most part a dynamic role in the society in which they live. One can only express the wish that the institutions and structures with which Canadian women find themselves face to face did more to encourage and were more fit to receive their initiatives. At the same time, it is clear that the models of action that our mass media present to women in different social and cultural milieux exhibit a considerable degree of divergency, particularly with reference to social dynamism, the topic which has concerned us above all in this study. Women already enjoying the advantages of an urban environment and of higher education are further benefited by having a dynamic self-image presented to them by the press; the effect of this image is, no doubt, to accelerate their already more rapid rate of development. At the opposite extreme of the scale, we find a feminine image presented by the urban tabloid press that is becoming increasingly passive and futile, oriented more and more towards escapist enjoyment and less and less towards work and commitment. Insofar as both these tendencies are at work in the same comprehensive socio-cultural context, in the same all-embracing social environment, there is a serious danger that the two sub-cultures represented by the tabloid and the intellectual press will continue to draw farther and farther apart. The tabloid reflection of women is, incidentally, reinforced by the stereotype feminine image in advertising which dwells with increasing emphasis on the passivity and detachment of women from life, on their interest in amusement and in their own personal appearance to the detriment of more serious values. There can be little doubt that advertisers have chosen to pattern their feminine image along these lines in an effort to capture the popular imagination and to use mass-culture for their own promotional purposes. But what is dangerous and retrograde in their methods of advertising is that the image they have created or popularized might actually hinder the evolution of women towards a role of social commitment and creative participation in society.

A COMPARISON OF CERTAIN RELEVANT FEATURES OF ENGLISH- AND FRENCH-
LANGUAGE URBAN NEWSPAPERS IN GENERAL CIRCULATION

Miscellaneous facts

	French	English
1967	18%	15%
1954	25	14

Active behaviour

	French	English
	73%	78%
	75	85

Innovative behaviour

	French	English
1967	23	16
1954	7	7

Conformist behaviour

	French	English
	46	58
	68	80

Level of innovation

	French	English
1967	51	42
1954	62	50

Speech

	French	English
	21	9
	14	11

Actions directed towards society

	French	English
1967	58	40
1954	37	25

Actions directed towards traditional female concerns

	French	English
	32	53
	56	69

Work activities

	French	English
1967	50	36
1954	40	31

Leisure activities

	French	English
	25	45
	31	41

Collective subjects

	French	English
1967	33	42
1954	38	58

Married women

	French	English
	54	41
	37	26

- a) The periodicals compared are as follows: (1) French: La Presse and Le Soleil; and (2) English: The Toronto Star and The London Free Press. Since all four periodicals mentioned emanate from an urban environment and are addressed to a non-specialized reading public, differences between them may be ascribed to the ethnic variable. For a full explanation of the statistical bases of the percentages given, the reader is referred to the appropriate chapters of this study.

APPENDIX 1

SOME EXAMPLES

A. SOME EXAMPLES OF INNOVATIVE, EXCEPTIONAL AND
CONFORMIST BEHAVIOUR, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO YEAR

INNOVATIVE

1967

(Terre de Chez Nous):

- The sympto-thermal method is discussed at the Serena national convention.
- The A F E A S asks for reforms, including pensions, the abolition of premium stamps and welfare.
- The President of the A F E A S requests certain reforms, such as allowances, pensions and social assistance.
- The A F E A S convention requests reforms in social services, family allowances, and home economics courses in schools. The assembly presents a brief to the Committee on Continuing Education.
- A grandmother opens a vacation resort for her grandchildren.

(Montréal-Matin):

- Two thousand women demonstrate against the Vietnam war in front of the Pentagon.
- The managing board of a junior hockey league includes a single female member.
- Mrs. Pretty is the founder of the first children's library in Quebec, in 1937.

- A woman obtains financial assistance for educational television in Ottawa.
- A letter of protest against King Constantine is lodged with U Thant.

(Le Devoir):

- The President of the Committee for the Equality of Women's Rights requests the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Status of Women.
- Charlotte Whitton considers herself as capable of holding the position of Sports Commissioner as any man.
- A woman physician reproaches her male colleagues with having shrunk from the problem of contraception.
- A woman requests the introduction of strict supervisory measures to control advertising.
- The opinion is expressed that mothers ought to be paid salaries.

(Le Soleil):

- Mme Louis de Gaspé Beaubien founds St. Justin's Hospital.
- Manitoba women obtain the right to vote in 1916.
- California introduces marriage and family courses in the high schools.

- A former suffragette makes a statement on women's right to vote.
- A woman is appointed to a position in the Department of Health and Welfare.

(London Free Press):

- A suffragette presents a brief to the Committee on Consumers' Affairs and recommends the establishment of a control bureau.
- The first woman ever to be elected member of the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly.
- Mrs. Gandhi wins the election, even though her party sustains certain losses.
- More women should be appointed municipal inspectors.
- A woman complains about advertising techniques and suggests to the Committee on Consumers' Affairs that a control bureau be established.

(La Presse):

- In Rome, sixteen African mothers superior attend the first international meeting.
- The Trinidad Police Department employs one police woman.
- The first female Crown Prosecutor is appointed in Alberta.
- The Subsecretariate for Family Planning is established in the U.S.A. and a Subsecretary is appointed.

- A group of women undertake to repair a highway.

(Montreal Star):

- The National Council of Women presents a brief to the parliamentary Committee on Divorce, urging the liberalization of divorce laws.
- The National Council of Women urges the extension of the legal grounds for divorce and the lowering of the costs in obtaining a divorce. The Council proposes that the minimum marriage age be raised to 21 years.
- For the first time in Canada, two women are admitted as voting members of the Presbyterian Church Council of Canada.
- The "Voice of Quebec Women" (Voix des femmes du Québec) protests against the Vietnam War.
- The death of Lady Benn, a very active worker before the war and first female participant of a special committee of the city council of Surrey.

(Toronto Star):

- The Canadian Federation of University Women presents a report on the situation of women in universities and suggests that salaries be paid to female students.
- A female professor invents and publishes a new therapy for the treatment of mental disorders.
- A woman establishes a centre for the rehabilitation of female alcoholics.

- A woman accompanies her husband on his trans-Atlantic voyage on a raft.
- One of the first women to enter the medical profession in Toronto dies.
- A female journalist is captured by the Viet Cong and lives among them for six days.

(Châtelaine [French]):

- One of the pavilions at Expo (that of music) was designed and directed by a woman.
- A female professor establishes a Department of Photography in the Faculty of Education of the University of Montreal.
- A famous couturière of Montreal undertakes the restoration of a historic Montreal house.
- A female physician organizes free family planning clinics.
- The television programme "Femme d'Aujourd'hui" is produced and directed by women.

(Chatelaine [English]):

- Women were responsible for founding the Y.W.C.A., the National Council of Women, the U.O.N., the women's Institute and the MacDonald Institute.
- The second female judge is appointed to the Alberta bench.
- A woman founds a social club for mentally retarded adults.

- Norma Beecraft composes electronic music.
- A woman was an experimental painter in 1912.

1954

(Terre de Chez Nous):

- The U.C.F. presents a brief to the Néon and Tremblay Commission, proposing certain reforms.
- The U.C.F.O. urges the adoption of a national flag, family allowances, bilingualism, etc...
- The Three Rivers branch of the U.C.F. presents resolutions for the improvement of schools and social services.

(Montréal-Matin):

- A female senator wins in the elections over a McCarthyist opponent.
- A woman, accompanied by her son, pickets her husband's factory in an effort to force him to improve salaries.
- For the first time ever, a woman is appointed Attorney General for the district of Cairo, in the U.A.R.
- The first woman takes her seat in the Canadian Senate.

- For the first time in history, a woman has attempted to swim the straits of Juan de Fuca.

(Le Devoir):

- Steinberg's appoints a woman to head its research service.
- The convention of professional women revises its constitution.
- Four women are responsible for the founding of the religious community of the Sisters of St. Joseph.
- Rose Hanton is the only female clown.
- A woman wins first place in an international commerce competition.

(Le Soleil):

- The Federation of Cercles de Fermières formulates a body of petitions to the government of Quebec.
- Jeanne Mance saved Ville-Marie with her hospital.
- The wife of a Hawaiian congressman succeeds her husband in office.
- A woman announced her intention to make a round-the-world trip on a raft.
- A nun founds the Convent of la Pocatière.

(London Free Press):

- The first Canadian woman senator addresses the National Council of Women.
- A woman is placed in charge of a university newspaper.
- Two female teachers organize an evening art-course for adults.
- The first Indian woman ever to receive a Ph.D. is interviewed by Business.
- A woman requests that she be inscribed as candidate for election even though she is not a property-owner.

(La Presse):

- The Montreal Council of Women urges the establishment of a family court in Montreal.
- The first woman ever to become an officer of the French navy receives her commission in Paris.
- A female student of the U.A.R. volunteers for service in the national guard.
- The President of the Canadian Association of Consumers wishes that elegance were associated with reasonable prices.
- The female founder of a business agency is also the present owner of the firm.

(Montreal Star):

- A businesswoman controls \$400,000,000.00.
- For the first time ever, a young woman enrolls in an evening course of the H.E.C.
- In China, a woman is promoted to the position of engineer on a train.
- The National Council of Women of Canada adopts as the theme of its convention: 'Methods of interesting women in taking up careers in public life!'
- A female professor is appointed to head the Ottawa welfare Bureau.

(Toronto Star):

- The Women's Advertising Club of Toronto seeks to open up careers in advertising to more women.
- Female electors urge the construction of nurseries in apartment buildings.
- Marilyn Bell beats several male competitors in a marathon swimming event in Atlantic City.
- Communist female terrorists chase away the English.
- An unmarried woman asks for a change in Ontario laws respecting aged persons.

EXCEPTIONAL1967

(Terre de Chez Nous):

- Several women are included among the list of lecturers at the Hall of Agriculture.
- A woman is appointed division head of nursing homes.
- An unmarried woman is elected to the post of Vice-President of MIJARC.
- Mme Thérèse Casgrain makes a television appearance.
- Various women are appointed to Social Welfare and family affairs posts.

(Montréal-Matin):

- A group of female volunteer workers direct and manage a children's library.
- An authoress publishes the biographies of famous women.
- A celebrated female swimmer has covered the distance of 26 miles in four weeks.
- A woman skier, Herdi Zemmerman, triumphs in the special slalom.
- Women are best qualified to enter Olympic fencing events.

(Le Devoir):

- A woman authors the poem entitled "Terre des hommes"

- The publication of David Sterne, a novel by Marie-Claire Blais, has met with success.
- Nancy Greene wins the Du Maurier Cup.
- A lady gives a lecture on women and the family.
- Another lady gives a lecture on the vocation of women.

(Le Soleil):

- Owing to her family obligations and work, a woman has taken 20 years to obtain her B.A.
- Four farmers' wives participate in a panel discussion on the role of women in family exploitation.
- A young Montreal actress is acclaimed in Paris for her role in a film entitled The Thief (Le Voleur).
- Nurses from the four corners of the world have attended Expo.
- Mme Gaudet-Smith gives a lecture on handicrafts.

(London Free Press):

- A Quebec chanteuse performs at the opening evening of La Semaine de la Chanson at Expo.
- A lady received a special distinction for having saved the lives of two children.
- A female horse owner and trainer wins a prize.

- Five actresses are nominated for the Oscar.
- A woman keenly interested and active in sports has organized sporting events in the north.

(La Presse):

- A lady gives a lecture on juvenile delinquency.
- An Englishwoman makes dolls dressed in national costume.
- An actress plays in Les enfants de l'amour (Children of love).
- A woman is appointed Head of the Social Service at the General Hospital.
- Denise Pelletier gives an interpretation of "Jeanne d'Arc"

(Montreal Star):

- A female folksinger is making a world tour.
- A woman wins first prize in an art competition.
- A lady and her husband put on a joint exhibition.
- The female director of the National Ballet of Canada is one of the co-founders of the National Ballet School, in Toronto.
- Women participate in the Canadian Auto Rallye.

(Toronto Star):

- A female painter exhibits her work at Expo and receives a bursary to study in Japan.
- Girls win the prize in a poetry contest.
- A female candidate is running for election for the N.D.P.
- A lady gives a performance of jazz music.
- A woman establishes a tourist centre with the help of her company.

(Chatelaine [French]):

- The sculpture exhibited in the French pavilion is the work of a female sculptor.
- An authoress wins first prize in the Centennial Competition for her work on The origins of abstract art (Les sources de l'art abstrait).
- A female novelist has published David Sterne.
- The programme "Place aux femmes" (Make way for women) is produced by a woman.
- A certain woman is extremely active: she plays the violin, she is a housewife, organizer, etc...

(Chatelaine [English]):

- A female novelist criticizes her own work, Une Saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel (An Interval in the Life of Emmanuel).
- Four works executed by a female artist are chosen by Expo and two others are purchased by the Department of External Affairs.

- One of the few Canadians interested in rubbing ancient brasses is a woman.
- A housewife is the director and member of several organizations in the north of Ontario.
- A female writer is the recipient of a Canada Council grant awarded for a book to be written on the Duke of Kent and Mme de Saint-Laurent.

1954

(Terre de Chez Nous):

- A lady is appointed secretary of the French Academy of Classical Poets.
- A female student at Queen's University is writing her master's thesis on the Canadian Federation of Agriculture.
- The female members of the Consumers' Association are holding a debate on margarine.
- A woman is awarded the medal pro Ecclesia et Pontifice for having given the Church seven priests.
- A female artist wins a handicrafts prize.

(Montréal-Matin):

- A woman is undertaking an eight-week hike on skis with a group in the Rocky Mountains.
- A woman is named the finest personality of the year.

- A lady breaks the world fishing record.
- A female student wins the skating championship.
- A female golfer reaches the Quebec provincial golf championship semi-finals.

(Le Devoir):

- The Canadian Federation of University Women organizes a symposium on educational reform.
- A female psychologist delivers a lecture at the Congress of Psychology.
- A woman wins the figure-skating world championship.
- A designer tells the secrets of the winter fashion in hats.
- A young nursing student finishes first in the Province in her nursing course.

(Le Soleil):

- The female director of the National Ballet applies for a subsidy to the federal government.
- A Canadian chanteuse sings for the Canadian ambassador in Paris.
- The mayoress of Ottawa campaigns for re-election against a number of male candidates.

- An International Congress of Women is being held in Helsinki.
- A famous Montreal model opens her own dress shop.

(London Free Press):

- A group of female teachers explain to parents the methods used in teaching children to read.
- Two sisters share the honour of winning a musical competition in piano.
- A soprano can sing two notes that another soprano cannot reach.
- A female musician is awarded a scholarship to study music in the U.S.A.
- The President of the Sarnia Business and Professional women's Club is elected Honorary President of the Club.

(La Presse):

- A female music hall entertainer presents the Man and His World revue.
- A female singer is congratulated by the Queen on the occasion of her successful recital in London.
- Three girls join C.U.S.O.

- The first Canadian mother superior is appointed to the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital of Quebec.
- A female political figure seeks for political asylum in the U.S.A.

(Montreal Star):

- A female movie producer is the author of seven film scenarios.
- Princess Margaret of England is cited as one of the ten best dressed women of the world.
- A Montreal actress plays the role of Joan of Arc.
- A lady adopts forty children.
- The first Canadian woman is elected President of Pilots International Club.

(Toronto Star):

- An 88-year-old woman gives a variety recital.
- An actress has just completed the eightieth film of her career.
- The female conductor of a chorus wins a prize.
- A female student gains employment as a laboratory technician after considerable hardship.
- Blind women now occupy their time with weaving.

(Revue Moderne):

- A lady is named Chevalier de la légion d'honneur for her activity in the resistance.
- An actress plays in "L'Amour d'une femme" (One woman's Love).
- An actress plays in "L'Age de l'amour" (The Age of Love).
- A comédienne acts in The Merchant of Venice.
- A report by a famous woman has appeared in a magazine.

C O N F O R M I S T

- The Ladies Auxiliary of the Canadian and Italian Business and Professional Men's Association is preparing to hold a buffet and dance.
- A model presents a new dress in a Gala Fashion Show.
- Three nuns go to Rome to participate in the Congress of Sisters Superior.
- The wife of the Quebec premier invites journalists to a luncheon.
- Three dancers are proclaimed the winners of a gogo dance competition on the South Shore.

- A troupe of folk-dancers organize an auction-sale to finance their revue at Expo.
 - The graduating class at the Ursuline Convent school present a fashion show.
 - The wife of a Quebec minister explains the history of the Province to a visiting queen.
 - A nun expresses the fear that religious teachers will be deprived of the right to teach, and urges that the right be safeguarded.
-
- A Montreal actress purchases a copy of Look magazine, with the words "The death of the President" on the front page.
 - Miss Sportsman is in attendance at the Salon du Sport.
 - A young lady gives a reception on her birthday.
 - Girls attracted to Montreal by Expo find employment.
 - A young girl is burned in a fire.
-
- A hostess at Expo '67 walking in the rain.
 - Girls walking in bathing suits in the U.S.A.
 - The picture of a woman is drawn by her old friend.
 - A woman testifies in court.
 - Two nuns represent Montmagny Hospital on the occasion of a ministerial visit to the town.

- A princess and her husband visit Expo.
 - A princess receives engagement presents.
 - A group of girls from the Maritimes visit Expo.
 - A movie star dies in an airline crash.
 - A female dancer is summonsed to court for having given an obscene performance.
-
- A woman cooks in the traditional manner.
 - Several girls contest the title of Recreations Queen at a sports centre.
 - A lady wins \$500.00 in a contest sponsored by Dupuis Frères.
 - A princess joins her husband in New York.
 - Ladies are invited to the sugaring-off party of the Union Nationale.
-
- The wife of the Prime Minister greets her husband.
 - An actress recovers from an operation.
 - The daughter of the President of the U.S.A. announces her engagement.
 - Miss America is blinded by the camera lights.
 - The wife of a hockey-player celebrates her 25th wedding anniversary.

- The election of Miss Expo '67 is to take place soon.
- A young lady is interviewed on the occasion of her sister's marriage.
- A young bikini-clad woman is stretched out on the beach.
- The maids of honour will wear red velour gowns.
- A woman is photographed with the winner of the Mont-Tremblant auto race.

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APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEWS WITH PUBLISHERS

A. AN ACCOUNT OF INTERVIEWS WITH CERTAIN EDITORS OF WOMEN'S SECTIONS

In the course of preparing this study we interviewed a number of journalists in charge of the women's sections of newspapers as well as the editor-in-chief of the women's monthly, Châtelaine. The object of these interviews was to collect certain factual data concerning the internal organization of each periodical and to ascertain at first hand the precise attitude of each editor to her reading public. More particularly, we wished to find out the ideological position of various editors with reference to women's place in society. In the following pages we shall reproduce the opinions expressed by the editors interviewed on certain issues especially pertinent, in our view, to the topic of this study.

1. The criteria which determine the selection of news items printed. Faced with the mass of information distributed by news agencies, with their own projected feature articles and with various direct sources of information (press conferences, invitations, etc.), editors are obviously called upon to make a more or less rigorous selection of items to be printed. This selection, conscious or otherwise, is governed by certain criteria which in turn are revealing of the value systems of the respective editors.

" - For my own part, I believe that there is discrimination ...

for instance, everything connected with the field of medicine or with charity is invariably considered as feminine news."

- "My first criterion ... is that the news item to be included affect in some way the condition of women, the family or the upbringing of children."

- "If the news concerns fashion, I consider it worthy of inclusion in the women's section because the consumers of fashion are women and it may bring some change in their lives. If the item concerns an actress in a leading role or a female athlete who wins a ski championship, I consider the item sports or entertainment news; it has nothing to do with women as such (...) If a woman is active in politics, an item concerning her is, on the other hand, more properly within the scope of the women's section in view of the discrimination against female political involvement."

- "Primarily, from my own point of view what matters is that the item should be newsworthy."

- "A great many women take a keen interest in fashion ... but they are (also) interested in all other kinds of news ... I try always to see news events from the feminine point of view, that is to say, in the sense that they affect women... Thus, for example, when the news concerns a strike, I am concerned with its repercussions on the wife of a striker (...). I am equally preoccupied with female occupations, such as, for instance, nurses and nursing."

- "I do not actually believe that there are strictly female news items, as such..."

- "I should like to feel that there is enough openmindedness among newspapers to realize that women occasionally do make news which interests the public at large and that people should not necessarily

have to look in the women's section in order to find this type of news (...) People have not sufficiently realized the importance of women in newspapers."

- "There are fashion, beauty care, cooking and all those other things traditionally considered to be feminine (...) I believe that they are important, for a woman must prepare three meals every day and she must dress and look as well as she can (...). In addition to this material, there are studies and reports which are of interest to the family as a whole, we might say: news concerning the rearing of children, children's books and literature generally (...). There exists an immense amount of published material on the market concerning women, their advancement, emancipation, social condition -- in a word, concerning the feminine problem."

- "I feel that we have no right to ignore politics, for example. We must pay attention to it. One cannot start off with a preconceived tendency and then tailor articles to conform to it in dealing with material indicating some form of engagement."

- "Whenever a woman has done something notable in whatever domain... [we print a report or an interview] (...). As long as it was done by a woman, we cover it in the women's section, regardless of the field in which it was done."

- "Our chief objective is to give local coverage (...). Local news takes precedence over everything else; fashion and other news come afterwards..."

- "What we are trying above all to avoid is to have people use the

news as a form of personal publicity (...). Of course, we do have a section devoted to "social news" which covers events such as balls and soirées, but we don't go in for reporting private entertainments such as parties. Fashion news comes after this: here, we try to report more or less everything that goes on...when someone asks us to publish an item, we will do so only if it actually contains an element of novelty. Otherwise, we will not print it."

- "If a woman makes a significant contribution in the field, say, of politics or consumer affairs, this will appear among the general news. What goes into the women's section is pretty well the less important items, such as those concerning home decoration, beauty care, and medical advice for children." (critical tone)

- "It is only on the rarest occasions that articles submitted to us are (satisfactory in the form in which they are presented) (...)
When people write for us, they see things in different ways; but when we take up a problem, we try to see the various aspects and ways in which women are involved in it, what they can do about it, what they might think about it, and so forth. This calls for particular training on our part, and it makes our magazine in some ways a specialized publication."

2. Image of the reading public. The conception that editors have of their reading public colours to a certain extent their treatment and presentation of journalistic content.

- "A recent study has revealed that the women's section was being read by a very numerous public, two-thirds of which were men and only one-third women...(...) The average age of readers ranged bet-

wee 25 and 40 years both for men and for women. (...) I believe that there is a segment of the student population that is not reached by newspapers at present (...). I should like to see the working classes brought more into the scope of influence of our papers but I believe that, to do so, the format would have to change."

- "...Behind the fashion parade, I always try to see the average woman. I work on the assumption that the reader is the average woman, with a limited budget or working for a living, who wishes to be as well dressed as possible while spending as little money as possible."

" "...one thing that I have found and that is most unfortunate is that the young people are not among our readers. We should rethink the whole question of our newspapers. I believe that periodicals in general -- and women's editors in particular -- ought to make a special effort to find news that might interest this class of readers!"

- "It is primarily the new middle class that has time to read the newspapers, and this class has an active social life...The social section is much read by people who hope to find photographs of newly-weds, receptions, balls and so forth."

- "We must remember that we live in a society where the majority of women stay at home to raise their children. These women must not be neglected by the newspapers; for, while the working woman has other means of keeping in touch with what goes on in the world, the housewife depends on periodicals to find out about things outside her home."

For her, the newspaper represents a line of communication with the outside world; that is why I think it is extremely important to publish material about cooking, child rearing, fashion and beauty care. Women must be allowed to keep up with the latest developments in these areas..."

- "Another thing that interests me very much is consumer affairs. We must strive to teach women not only how to save money but also how to evaluate products rationally. This is particularly needed today to counter the effects of high-pressure television advertising."

- "I was astonished to learn ... how many columns are followed by men."

- "The majority of our female readers would, I suppose, be between 30 and 40 years of age. We try to appeal to younger readers but they are rather difficult to reach since girls apparently seldom read the papers and young women are often much too busy to do so..."

- "... I think that women in rural areas read, if anything, the daily newspapers since they have little access to more specialized magazines. At least I work on that assumption in selecting material for publication and in deciding what areas of interest to emphasize. The working class as well as the wives of professional people appear also to figure among our readers -- the latter especially, since most feminine organizations are run by them..."

- "...the women's section is the most widely read part of newspapers."

- "Men ... look at the women's section; they may read it less attentively than women do but they look at it just the same."
- "I feel there isn't enough attention given to adolescents in today's newspapers."
- "...I doubt if the average reader cares about the status of women, consumer habits, or other subjects of the same type. Questions of politics or consumption are over the head of the average housewife."
- "Our readers are principally of the 25 to 40-year age-group (...) From the social point of view, they probably represent all the social classes of Quebec."

3. Editorial policies concerning feminine news.

- "...the feminine sector of the news ... embraces also social problems."
- "We must ... ask our own questions and pose our own problems to the public because they represent ultimately those of people in general."
- "Above all, I aim at informative content."
- "Women read the rest of the newspaper as well. We must not therefore exaggerate our own importance because, all things considered, we are merely a part of a totality that is known as a newspaper."
- "The purpose of (the women's section) may be summarized in two words: information and education."
- ≡ "The principal objective (of the magazine) is unquestionably to integrate women in society so as to allow them to transcend the tram-

mels of the home, to take their rightful place in the community and to assume an active and responsible social role."

Towards the disappearance of the women's section?

- "In the long run, we shall probably see the disappearance of special women's sections in newspapers, but at present such a development would be neither possible nor desirable. (...) As long as editors and journalists generally do not consider social and family news as important as political news, we shall have to maintain the women's section in order to be able to publicize such items. (...) If the women's section were to be suppressed, what would happen is that all items of this type would appear at the foot of the page and soon disappear altogether because they would be considered too unimportant (...). There is a trend in this direction. I might say that journalists are increasingly sensitive to the problem. In ten years' time, we might well decide to suppress the women's section; and it is quite conceivable that by that time the importance of these problems will be such that everyone will be aware of them..."

- "This will perhaps surprise you ... but I could quite readily envisage the abolition of the women's section. (...) News of interest to women could certainly be dispersed throughout the newspaper or arranged according to their degree of importance, as is the case with general news today. (...) I am fairly certain that this is precisely what will happen within a decade or so -- and I for my own part will heartily subscribe to it."

4. The place of women in society

The opinions of editors on the place of women in society play an important role in determining the nature and choice of the information that their newspapers transmit.

- "Basically, it all comes back to a lack of education. (...) I believe that women have a different but equally valuable role as men to play in society and that they are prevented from doing so by inadequate intellectual preparation (...). I am under the impression that twenty or twenty-five years from now the problem will have been solved. Unfortunately, we, the women of today, are living in a most difficult period -- especially those of us that have not been adequately prepared. As for women that have been prepared to play an active role, I believe that they face no special problems."

- "A woman is expected to be twice as competent as a man before she can occupy a given position. (...) I am thinking of women in factories, in industry and in retail businesses where they are treated as inferiors from the point of view of salary and working conditions. (...). The situation is, to say the least, irregular."

- "Women ought not necessarily try to emulate men; rather, they ought to become full citizens enjoying the same prerogatives as men ... without losing their femininity. It is not a question of becoming like men. The important thing is to accept oneself as a woman and to develop one's potentials to the limit with the same ease as men have in developing theirs."

- "I think women are beginning to realize their own worth. One might say that they had never taken stock of themselves before. Now, the housewife has begun to realize that if she were paid for what she is doing she would be more appreciated. (...) There is a degree of social inferiority still ... but I think that women are beginning to have greater confidence in themselves. They always had the same value but they hadn't realized it for nobody had ever told them. Men themselves have begun to discover that women are a great deal more than they had thought. Perhaps they had always known it but they certainly had not admitted it."

- "For women that have been adequately prepared for today's world, there are no problems as long as ... they do not continually assert themselves. For my own part, I believe that a woman with good potential and a sound education ... is as well regarded as a man, if not better, in many walks of life. Obviously it is a different matter for the housewife, however."

- "...the mere fact that women remain in a position of almost child-like dependence on their husbands throughout their lives must have a certain effect on their psychological makeup and might make them shrink from responsibilities (...). I am under the impression that the solution to this problem is not necessarily working outside the home as the majority of men do...(What may solve the problem) of women in the future (...) may be quite different from this: it may involve showing them how they can fulfill an active role in society ... (by taking part in school commissions, various associations, civic committees, etc.)"

5. The evolving role of newspapers with regard to the diffusion of feminine news.

- "We have moved from editorializing, from didacticism to a continuing search (...). We must provide people with food for reflection for it is through reflection that one can educate them...We must no longer try to tell people what to do..."
- "Unfortunately, there has been no change. I feel a little pessimistic in saying this, and a bit disillusioned, because I am convinced that there remains a great deal of work (to be done) at the editorial level..."
- "...We started reporting on fashion, interior decoration, cookery and women's groups about ten years ago (or even more recently, on the last). Ever since then, it has been obvious that the interests of women transcended the primordial needs of their families. With the present development continuing, it is clear that the domain of orientation, growth, education and welfare have been very important to women all along ..."
- "There has been no very (abrupt) change ... It is always more or less the same thing that is included in the women's section but there has been a change insofar as the conditions of life themselves have changed. There are many more subjects discussed today than previously, such as sex, for example."

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B. SOME EXAMPLES OF ADVERTISEMENTS

"Advertisements taken out of their usual context are always laughable. In other words, a publicity message consciously seen or heard becomes ludicrous."

(M. McLuhan, Understanding media, p. 251)

A certain image of the product:

1. "When a child has a cold ... mother's best help is the doctor. After that, it is flavoured Aspirin, in the dose especially recommended for children." (Medicine advertisement, Chatelaine, April 1967).
2. "Has the success of Firebird gone to his head? Is Pontiac Firebird too comfortable for a sports car? ... Is Firebird going to spoil her? Was it really necessary to increase the power of Firebird?" (Automobile advertisement, Le Soleil, 12-12-67)
3. "Furs -- the choice of the woman with conservative tastes ... now in models created in the latest fashion ..." (Clothing advertisement, La Presse, 4-1-54)

4. "If it's excitement you're looking for, Barracuda will open up new horizons for you -- with three models to choose from..." (Automobile advertisement, Montréal-matin, 20-4-67)
5. "Double-power Fab! Now with more power than ever before!" (Detergent advertisement, La Presse, 7-5-54)
6. "The closer he gets, the better you look! Finally! A shampoo rinse with such natural colour it makes him want to come near you!" (Beauty product advertisement, Perspectives, 22-4-67)
7. "In the winter, when the weather is cold, let a cup of Salada tea warm you up. Salada tea picks you up without letting you down." (Foodstuff advertisement, Perspectives, 30-12-67)
8. "... you pay only for the chocolates, not for the fancy wrapping they come in." (Candy advertisement, La Presse, 7-5-54)
9. "The 1954 automatic washer extracts dirt by the "submerging"

action of its agitator, then drives it out by the "floating" action of its powerful rinses..." (Washing machine advertisement, La Revue Moderne, May 1954)

10. "People today are much taller than they used to be -- that's why Simmons' make the Queen-size Beauty-rest mattress, measuring 6 feet and 8 inches!" (Mattress advertisement, Perspectives, 6-5-67)

The image of a certain life-style:

11. "Quebec mothers know that clothes are the very image of cleanliness ... when they wash them with Tide!" (Detergent advertisement, Magazine La Presse, 28-8-54)
12. "You can import anything ... except autumn in Paris! ... the ideal climate to relax in..." (Airline advertisement, Le Soleil, 28-10-67)
13. "Buy white sheets for luxury, coloured sheets for beauty, fitted sheets for saving time ... all from the famous and fabulous line of products by Tex-Made, who lead Canadians towards a better, easier life." (Bedding advertisement, La Revue Moderne, January 1954)
14. "Going to bed with curlers in your hair is not today's style!" (Beauty product advertisement, La Presse,

15-2-67)

15. "Me, wear a hat? Why not? Almost all women will be wearing them this winter." (Health product advertisement, Perspectives, 11-11-67)
16. "I prefer going to the bank in the evening -- I'm much too busy on the telephone all day long!" (Bank advertisement, Montréal-Matin, 14-3-67)
17. "No knowledge of music required! In just 60 seconds, you will be playing! No music lessons needed!" (Musical instrument advertisement, Montréal-Matin, 20-12-67)
18. "All you need to do is watch Channel 10 and read Montréal-Matin!" (News media advertisement, Montréal-Matin, 26-1-67)

An advertisement stressing the value of liberty before publicity:

19. "... there is nothing more important in this store than you. Our merchandise has no value without you! Whatever article the salesman may offer you, unless you are fully satisfied with it, no deal will be made.

That's why we say that in this store the customer is king!" (Le Soleil, 28-10-67)

A certain image of women:

20. "I dreamt I went to the Museum of Fine Arts in my Maidenform Bra..." (Foundation garment advertisement, La Presse, 17-3-54)
21. "...a film ... (which) ... shows you girls the way you could find them only in Paris: feminine, unreserved and knowing how to make men appreciate them." (Motion picture advertisement, Montréal-Matin, 23-9-67)
22. "Does she, or doesn't she? Her hair colour is so natural, only her hairdresser knows for sure! This family is the picture of happiness!" (Beauty product advertisement, Chatelaine, June 1967)
23. "You'll no longer have to watch your waistline... (Everybody else will be watching it for you!) ... Here is the dream girdle to make those unsightly lines of your figure appealing ... and the bra to accentuate your natural curves. As if by magic, the supporting straps of the bra are invisible!" (Foundation garment advertisement, Perspectives, 18-3-67)

24. "... whatever your figure is like, you will become slimmer instantly -- or your money back!" (Foundation garment advertisement, Montréal-Matin, 15-3-54)
25. "...Lux can ... give you that soft seductive loveliness that men find irresistible. Start today: be Lux lovely as the Hollywood stars are." (Beauty product advertisement, Mag. La Presse, 20-3-54)
26. "Dress. A little word that tells so much of your personality!" (Garment advertisement, Le Soleil, 12-12-67)
27. "Now, thanks to "Modess Soft-Form," it is wonderful to be a woman." (Hygienic product advertisement, Perspectives, 16-12-67)
28. "Woman ... a world of subtle distinctions -- and she finds them all in the colours of CIL paints!" (Paint advertisement, Chatelaine, 1967)
29. "Trust your femininity to Mum!" (Beauty product advertisement, La Presse, 19-7-54)
30. "Devoted companion, tireless worker, accomplished wife, the fisherman's best friend and helper ...

... a capable and dedicated mother looking after her family's welfare. (...)

In helping her husband in his daily work and in inculcating the principles of morality and love of home in her children, she is truly an invaluable helpmate, both for her husband and for her country!"

(Food product advertisement, La Revue Moderne, April 1954)

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"You have helped your wife become an expert skier. Are you going to initiate her now to the management of your estate? Of course not! It would not be fair to place that responsibility on her shoulders ..." (Trust company advertisement, Le Devoir, 21-12-54)

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B. AN ACCOUNT OF TWO INTERVIEWS WITH
FRENCH-CANADIAN PUBLICISTS

1. Interview with the head of an advertising agency

Essentially, our interview was to furnish answers to two questions: first, that of advertising strategy, and second, that of the place of women in publicity.

Advertising ought to contain a publicity-reflection of the social reality to which it addresses itself. "When I write advertising copy, I attempt to convey a sense of reality, I attempt never to project people into situations which they cannot imagine. In a word, I attempt to be very realistic in what I do." This type of advertising strategy is somewhat alien to the current trend of North American publicity: "American advertising tends to be more euphoric in statement and less consciously realistic. (...) Take, for example, advertisements for detergents and soaps. We would hardly ever use advertising techniques ... such as the gimmick of the white knight or of the washing machine which shows that it contains the dirtiest water in town ... Personally, I don't like this kind of publicity." By contrast, the advertisement of a certain Canadian brand of ale affords a good example of publicity-reflection. "I do not believe that our advertising mod-

els are too well chosen for that ad, from the American point of view. When we wish to present a postman, we take an actual postman; and when he is represented as saying 'I am afraid of dogs,' it is actually he that has said it. We didn't write the text for him; he has said what he has wished to say. For our own part, we have simply tried to look for something interesting associated with his line of work."

In urging consumers to buy certain products, advertisers make use of suggestive publicity, the object of which is to present to the prospective customer an image of himself: "Advertisers make frequent use of mirrors, as it were ... You try to project onto the consumer what you want him to do. It's not simply a matter of advertising for advertising's sake. The process must not stop there; if it does, we haven't done our job properly. The image must not only reach the consumer; it must also reflect him. If we have a television viewer sit in the dark, the image that he is watching will actually be reflected by him ... Of course, what we want is that the image should penetrate within the consumer's consciousness, because that's precisely the area we wish to reach -- that's where the job gets done." Advertisers draw on people's need for identification: "...you try to identify yourself with something or somebody ... with Pierre Elliot Trudeau, for instance, if he's your idol ... or with 007, James Bond ... We all have need for identification." A case in point is a recent advertisement for bras: "...You don't try to show the bra itself; what you show is a gorgeous girl, and you make the customer infer that under her clothes, she has one on ... (Thus) there is a self-

projection by the average woman onto the beautiful woman, a species of mirror effect!" Accordingly, what the consumer actually desires to possess is the image rather than the product itself. But what are the motives appealed to in advertising? "There is a whole arsenal of secondary needs that advertisers can draw on ... the need to impress others by one's appearance ... the need for security ... the sexual impulse ... the desire for possession and money ... But these are weapons used typically by the Americans which we seldom employ here!" Sometimes, what is in fact sold is the image of the product: "One might say, it is not steak that a restaurant sells but its sizzling over the charcoal and its smell!" "One has to sell emotion, one has to engage the sympathy of people. (...) We can no longer get away today with telling people what to do -- I myself resent being told what to do. Like everybody else, I live for the sake of living.." Fundamentally, the strategy in suggestive publicity involves the manipulation of people: "Women will buy such and such a product ... perhaps without actually realizing why. In point of fact, they have been psychologically conditioned to do so. The process is essentially one of mass manipulation, to call the thing by its right name!" Be this as it may, advertising is not dishonest: "... every publicist has a sense of integrity in actuality. If he has a choice of means, one of them honest and the other dishonest, he will take the first to achieve his end, of course. (...) I believe that national advertising in this country is fundamentally honest..."

Finally, publicity must address itself specifically to the social reality in Quebec: "for my part, I have been with American

and with English advertising agencies, and will never do what they do. I have no intention of following in their footsteps!" From the point of view of commercial success, French-Canadian advertising agencies lag far behind their competitors. "They control only 15 out of the 200 million dollars spent yearly on publicity in the French-Canadian market alone!" "I had my start in an advertising agency where not a word was in French. The texts were translated word for word. It was insulting. No wonder there are so many ultra-nationalists....I myself got so discouraged that (I founded my own agency)."

As for the place of women in advertising, their importance as consumers is readily conceded: "...women have a direct influence on virtually everything that is bought and sold. Automobile manufacturers make car interiors with an eye towards the female consumer ... with easy-to-clean seatcovers and all. All this has been designed by women for women ... I think that women are, if anything, even more influential in the French-Canadian market where we have practically a matriarchal system ... The French-Canadian woman is on the whole more intellectual than the average French-Canadian man... Women are in control, and this is particularly so in the family. (...) Women accordingly have a very important role as economic factors, as purchasers, in the community, since they are overwhelmingly the people who buy goods. (...) I should say that perhaps 95% of the consumer goods are either bought by women or their purchase is directly under their influence..."

Women are also frequently used as publicity objects: "I utilize very often children and animals and women in advertising, and only comparatively seldom men...The women you portray in advertising must convey a sense of reality, she must be very realistic. This means, in effect, that unless I happen to be advertising high fashion, I don't use high-fashion models. If I need a 35-year-old housewife, why, it's a 35-year-old housewife I'll get..." The choice of models is, thus, partly determined by considerations of realism and partly by the dictates of "suggestive" publicity strategy. "There are differences between women, and differences between French- and English-Canadian women. It is a matter of searching these out. After all, the publicity model is a mirror ... a projection of the consumer ... there must be a possibility of identification..."

2. Interview with an advertising consultant

Our interview was intended to answer three questions: first, that of advertising strategy; secondly, that of the particular form that advertising takes in relation to the environment; and thirdly, that of the place occupied by women in advertising.

Publicity strategy. The form which publicity takes is conditioned and modified by the special requirements peculiar to the medium. Thus, an advertisement will materially differ depending upon whether it takes the form of a billboard, a printed message, a radio or television commercial. As far as the publicity content of the message is concerned, this must provide answers to the following questions: "what is the product advertised? ... what are the advantages of this product? ... in what respect is it superior to other competing brands? ... what makes it special?" Ideally, the motives drawn upon by professional advertisers incorporate the results of a carefully sought-out pattern of rational and irrational human behaviour. The advertisement will, in part, make use of factual information concerning the product (the rational aspect): "...commercial information is a very important part of advertising, though one which is in course of disappearing from North American advertising practice. Nonetheless, it can have tremendous efficacy and it is unfortunate to see it so often neglected, particularly since it was the principal form of advertising at the beginning. I mean the sort of publicity which goes something like this: "This is a table or a piece of furniture; it is for sitting on; I sell it for \$3.00 a piece; come and buy one; I am on such-and-such street!" But one must not, at

the same time, ignore the more unconscious motives of the buyer (the irrational aspect): "...the fundamental needs of human beings as they are traditionally described -- the need for clothing, heating, food, etc. -- are, in my view, very secondary. (By a certain paradox) these are the very needs that have become superfluous, while the fundamental and real needs are the so-called superfluous ones. In our day, it has become necessary to impress others -- one's boss, friends, neighbours or wife -- of the fact that one needs a new coat, or a new pair of shoes, or a filet mignon..."

Publicity must have content specifically suited to the environment to which it is addressed. Publicity must first of all obey the imperatives of the socio-economic environment for which it is intended: "Since it is well known that the prospective buyers of diaper pins come from low to middle income brackets, this consideration obviously influences and ought to influence the form and presentation of advertisements and even the choice of publicity slogans. (...) One does not appeal to human vanity in offering diaper pins for sale, whereas when the product is Rolls Royce automobiles or Chanel No. 5 perfume or carpeting at \$20.00 the yard, one obviously does appeal both to vanity and to social status." Likewise, publicity cannot afford to ignore the linguistic and cultural habits of the prospective class of consumers: "We must take into account the idiomatic as well as literary imperatives of the intended buyer's cultural milieu, since this determines both the conceptual and verbal content of advertisements presenting certain products for sale..." A considerable pro-

portion of the commercial publicity addressed to French Canada does not specifically conform to the cultural environment of Quebec: "In publicity campaigns on a national scale, one finds that most of the material is simply English-Canadian or American advertising adapted to a French-language market, rather than an original French-Canadian creation or re-creation!"

The female models represented in French-Canadian advertising conform, by and large, to the type used by publicists in advertisements for the English-Canadian and American markets: "...fundamentally, what is presented here is a physiological type corresponding to the erotic ideal of the average male of Anglo-Saxon extraction..." An example of this process of cultural imposition may be seen in the case of a well-known manufacturer of tomato juice: "advertising tomato juice in French in newspapers such as "La Presse," "Le Soleil," or "La Tribune" is not the same thing as advertising it in English in "Life," "Time," "The Toronto Star," "The Montreal Star," or "The Sherbrooke Record." Yet, the advertisers have insisted that the feminine model featured remain the same. This sort of practice is at once deplorable from the point of view of cultural values and false from the publicity point of view." "Evidence is increasingly coming to light indicating that, from the point of view of its commercial effectiveness, ... publicity has not achieved full success. This may be due to the gratuitous assumption of certain advertisers that the English-American consumer was representative of consumers in other countries and cultures. When publicity of this type is addressed to the French-Canadian consumer, its effectiveness is not as great as it might be."

The constant presence of women in publicity suggests that our society is matriarchal: "...I contend that women, so far from enjoying equality with men, actually possess an absolutely and overwhelmingly dominant position in society. I maintain that the traditional inequality of the sexes has been completely reversed, to such a point that it is ridiculous to speak of equality between men and women... There is, for all practical purposes, a complete, and sometimes even extravagant, domination of women over men. This does not represent a judgement ... it is merely an observation and I think a perfectly justified one". "On the one hand, we constantly stress the liberation of women from the slavery of household chores under one form or another..." "...but, on the other, we end by saying to them, 'Ladies, we will provide you with all the items, all the articles, means and gadgets to free you once and for all from domestic work...' This appeal to the emancipation of women from household tasks is, ultimately however, only a lure with which publicists seek to inveigle women into buying more goods: "Fundamentally, advertisers serve their own interests in casting women in the role of martyrs and victims of exploitation. This is one way of convincing them of the fact that their husbands must provide them with certain things ..." The idea of liberation is thus merely one of a number of means used by advertisers to encourage the consumption of certain products by women.

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APPENDIX 3

NOTES ON METHODOLOGY

A. THE SAMPLE1. Choice of periodicals2. Choice of numbers

a. For analysis of the news

b. For the analysis of publicity

3. Choice of units for analysis

a. Choice of articles for analysis of the news

b. Choice of advertisements for the analysis of
publicity

THE SAMPLE

The total statistical population upon which the present study is based consists, on the one hand, of all articles published in Canadian periodicals and, on the other, of all advertisements appearing in the same publications. In view of the size and diversity of this population and the particular nature of the variables which we intended to use as bases of comparison for our study, the mere probabilistic selection of a study sample seemed to us to be neither relevant nor economical. The choice of the sample was accordingly to be governed by three successive considerations: (1) a choice of periodicals, (2) a choice of issues or numbers, and (3) a determination of what shall constitute units of material for analysis (i.e., articles for the analysis of the news and advertisements for the analysis of publicity). What follows is a detailed description of the determinations made by the author in selecting a representative sample for study.

1. Choice of periodicals

Our selection of periodicals was governed primarily by our intention to study the material in terms of three distinct variables: a) diachronically, with a view to discovering tendencies in time; b) ethno-culturally, with a view to allowing comparisons to be made between subsamples drawn from English-Canadian and French-Canadian periodicals; and c) socio-culturally, with a view to exploring differences between periodicals addressed to different classes of the public. The periodicals actually selected have already been identified in the Introduction to this study and need not be listed here once again.

2. Choice of numbers

a. For analysis of the news

In the case of periodicals issued at weekly or at monthly intervals, all issues were included in our survey, i.e.,

12 numbers of Châtelaine (French) 1967

12 numbers of Chatelaine (English) 1967

12 numbers of La Revue Moderne 1954

50 numbers of Terre de Chez Nous 1967

50 numbers of Terre de Chez Nous 1954.

With the daily newspapers, the sheer physical bulk of the material that is published each year necessitated that some selection be made at the outset. This posed the problem of deciding upon the size of a suitable sample -- a sample at once sufficiently small to make its study economically practicable and sufficiently large to allow the fragmentation of data into statistically significant categories.

According to an analysis undertaken by G. Stempel,¹ a sample consisting of no more than six issues of the total annual output of a newspaper suffices to produce a probability of 0.10. Increasing the sample to a quantity in excess of twelve issues does not (Stempel has found) produce any significant difference in the results. In light of this finding, we considered it justified to limit our sample to 12 issues per periodical, the more so since an exploratory test assured us that such a sample would yield one hundred articles or more in the issues sampled for each periodical.

¹ G. Stempel, "Sample Size for Classifying Subject Matter in Dailies," Journalism Quarterly (1952), vol. XXIX, no. 3, pp. 333-334.

The twelve issues were then chosen according to a systematic sampling procedure based on rotation in time (i.e., the first week of the first month, the second week of the second month, and so forth, for the first periodical; the second week of the first month, and so forth, for the second periodical, and so on for all periodicals in turn, with a total of one issue per month). In this manner we were able to cancel out the effect of seasonal fluctuations in the news, the kind of fluctuations that Laswell and Leites warn against in Language and Politics.¹

An overestimate on our part of the number of articles per newspaper issue, on the occasion of our exploratory test, left us with fewer than the required 100 articles for the majority of the periodicals surveyed (all except La Presse for 1954 and 1967, Le Soleil for 1967 and the totality of English-Canadian newspapers). We were therefore compelled to eke out by means of supplementary samples the periodicals which we found to have been underrepresented, and this brought the total number of issues consulted from 12 to 26 per periodical. The random character of this supplementary sample was verified by means of the "one sample runs test",² and in all cases it was found that H_0 could not be reduced to $P = 0.05$.

b. For the analysis of publicity

As far as the monthly La Revue Moderne and Chatelaine (both French and English), and the weekly Terre de Chez Nous were concerned, all issues were included in our survey on account of, first, the limited number of issues and, second, the limited quantity of publicity printed.

¹ H. D. Lasswell and N. Leites et al., Language and Politics, South Norwalk, Conn., G. W. Stuart Pub., 1949, pp. 129-132.

² S. Siegel, Non-parametric Statistics for the behavioral Sciences, McGraw-Hill, 1956, pp. 52-58.

With reference to the other periodicals chosen, an issue-sample was established for each by means of the system of random selection already explained. Since our exploratory analysis had shown that each issue contained sufficient publicity material to make up the required maximum number of advertisements, we decided to limit our sampling of each periodical to twelve numbers.

3. Choice of units for analysis

a. Choice of articles for analysis of the news.

The following material was included in our analysis within each of the periodical issues selected:

- a) all articles within which the subject of the news was a woman, a group of women or a feminine act, that is, an action performed by a woman or a group of women.
- b) all articles bearing primarily on some other subject but making reference to a woman, a group of women or a feminine act as previously defined.

The following material was not retained for analysis:

- a) articles not exceeding 1 1/2 "inch-column" of space in the categories previously defined.
- b) articles expressing ideas or opinions, unless these are specifically connected with a particular feminine act constituting the subject of the news.
- c) announcements, notices, articles on cooking and fashion, etc., as well as engagement and wedding announcements and obituaries.

Language	Year	Title or periodical	Number of issues	Total number of articles
FRENCH	1967	La Presse	12	214
		Le Soleil	12	131
		Montréal-Matin	26	144
		Le Devoir	26	195
		Terre de Chez Nous	50 P	86
		Châtelaine	12 P	102
	1954	La Presse	12	165
		Le Soleil	26	240
		Montréal-Matin	26	149
		Le Devoir	26	155
		Terre de Chez Nous	50 P	211
		Revue Moderne	12 P	25
ENGLISH	1967	Toronto Star	12	205
		Montreal Star	12	257
		London Free Press	12	273
		Chatelaine	12 P	159
	1954	Toronto Star	12	233
		Montreal Star	12	228
		London Free Press	12	372

b. Choice of advertisements for the analysis of publicity

As we have already explained, twelve issues per year were selected for analysis in the case of each periodical.¹ At the same time, the number of advertisements to be chosen per publication year for each periodical was fixed at one hundred. Accordingly, it became a matter of culling nine advertisements each out of four issues selected, and eight advertisements each out of the remaining eight issues. In this manner a total of one hundred advertisements were obtained for each periodical per publication year. In order

¹ Except in the case of Terre de Chez Nous where because of the low frequency of advertisements all issues were included.

to meet the requirements of our definition, advertisements had to contain a graphic representation of at least one feminine figure.

After dividing systematically those issues from which nine advertisements were to be drawn, from the others, and adjusting the choice of issues, if necessary, to produce the required number of advertisements, the publicity material itself was chosen at random. This was accomplished by means of tables of random numbers, the procedure being as follows: all periodical pages were numbered in series at the outset; pages bearing numbers identical to those selected at random were then examined and all advertisements on them fulfilling the requirements of our definition were included in our analysis.

¹ Whenever such adjustment became necessary, the information coder referred to the issue published immediately before the one selected and to the issue published immediately after it, alternately.

B. REMARKS ON CODING

1. For analysis of the news

The analytical grill that we used to compile data for the present study consisted of a series of questions concerning the subject matter of news items under analysis. The questions themselves were determined, in part, by the nature of the desired results and the sociological point of view adopted, and, in part, by the character of the material to be analyzed. A classification of all possible answers to any one question asked was undertaken so as to produce complete and exhaustive lists of mutually exclusive possible answers.

A method for classifying all possible answers to each question on the grill was perfected by means of a test trial, in which three information coders analyzed the same news material and discussed among themselves discrepancies between their coding procedures. The definition of each category having thus been settled, the coding of the material was undertaken by individual information coders who consulted their colleagues whenever in their judgement the material analyzed contained some ambiguity. The coding of each event reported was finally verified by the head of the group.

2. For the analysis of publicity

The preliminary and exploratory steps in the preparation of a definitive analytical grill were essentially of the same order in dealing with publicity as in dealing with news items. Since the analysis of publicity required, however, the rendering of a personal

judgement by the coders on the values expressed in individual advertisements, all answers to questions dealing with qualities implicitly associated with the feminine model or with the publicity message itself had to be agreed upon by two out of three coders before they were accepted. The use of these strictures allowed the coders to enforce and to maintain a high degree of objectivity in treating essentially subjective material.

A. EVENEMENT

VARIABLE

Tallem A 2

Surface accordée à la publicité, à l'information et à la publicité de cinéma dans un journal par pourcentage x

Nom du journal

Public spécialisé. français

Terre de Chez Nous

Montréal-Matin

Le Devoir

Tous publics anglais et français

Le Soleil

London Free Press

La Presse

Montréal Star

Toronto Star

Revenues

Châtelaine français

Châtelaine anglais

Total

Données et les données des données

Publicité	Information	Publicité de cinéma	Nombre de pages de bonnes pour le journal
'54	'67	'54	'67
28.6	22.8	71.4	77.2
27.2	48.0	70.8	51.0
29.6	39.3	69.4	58.7
49.1	51.8	48.9	47.2
54.8	63.7	43.2	35.5
69.0	62.6	29.0	35.4
65.7	62.1	32.3	35.9
69.6	65.7	27.4	32.3
58.2	41.8	0	0
60.4	39.6	0	0
1758	1603	0	0
2103	4971	1	1
2086	2417	2	2
5273	7746	1	1
7122	9134	1	1
8363	11240	1	1
8416	12060	2	2
11091	11291	2	2
7125	8084	0	0
8084		0	0

VARIABLE

A.2

sur portance de la photo dans l'information
(information = 100%)

Nom du journal

Photo

154 167

Non photo

154 167

Nombre de photoc. d'information

10 12
154 167Public spécialisé, français

Terre de Chez Nous

Montréal-Matin

Le Devoir

15 11

85

89

1251

1233

17

83

86

1400

1463

8

92

94

1463

1466

Tous publics anglais et français

Le Soleil

London Free Press

La Presse

Montreal Star

Toronto Star

11 13

89

87

2537

3046

15

85

89

3087

3211

16

84

88

2582

4106

14

86

85

2822

4464

23

77

84

3143

3690

Revue

Châtelaine français

Châtelaine anglais

42

58

2974

39

61

3200

Total

VARIABLE

A 3

Importance de l'image dans la publicité
(publicité = 100%)

Nom du journal	Photo (image)	Non-photo (non-image)	Nombre de photoc. de publicité
<u>Public spécialisé. français</u>			
Terre de Chez Nous	54	154	167
Montréal-Matin	50	50	503
Le Devoir	75	25	530
	61	39	593
<u>Tous publics anglais et français</u>			
Le Soleil	78	22	2402
London Free Press	67	33	3797
La Presse	75	25	5579
Montreal Star	61	39	5394
Toronto Star	57	43	7436
<u>Revue</u>			
Châtelaine français	96	4	1151
Châtelaine anglais	94	6	4824
Total			

VARIABLE

A 4

Importance de la photo de femme parmi la photo
d'information (photo d'information = 100%)

Nom du journal	Photo de femme		Non photo de femme		Nombre de total de photo d'information	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	N '54	N '67
<u>Public spécialisé. français</u>						
Terre de Chez Nous	4	0	96	100	192	142
Montréal-Matin	23	10	77	90	238	356
Le Devoir	0	0	100	100	118	97
<u>Tous publics anglais et français</u>						
Le Soleil	13	14	87	86	255	215
London Free Press	20	27	80	73	185	368
La Presse	7	18	53	82	419	525
Montreal Star	6	13	94	87	417	681
Toronto Star	21	15	79	85	730	599
<u>Revue</u>						
Châtelaine français		5		95		1252
Châtelaine anglais		11		89		1249
Total						

VARIABLE

Ab

Importance de l'image de femme dans la publicité de l'ima (publicité de l'ima = 100%)

Nom du journal	Image de Femme	Non image de femme	N. de public de publicité	
<u>Public spécialisé. français</u>				
Terre de Chez Nous	0	0	0	0
Montréal-Matin	31	69	42	32
Le Devoir	42	58	26	36
<u>Tous publics anglais et français</u>				
Le Soleil	80	20	103	160
London Free Press	77	23	105	84
La Presse	62	38	194	152
Montreal Star	52	48	132	218
Toronto Star	29	71	290	183
<u>Revue</u>				
Châtelaine français	0			0
Châtelaine anglais	0			0
Total				

A 5
 Les portances de l'imagerie de formation dans les
 médias publics avec image (publicité) avec imagerie
 100%

100/2

marriage de femine	Non marie de la me.	Nombre de pol. col. d'ins. geo publ. citaines
54	54	154
67	67	154

Nombre de patients
publétaires

7	5	93	95	254	180
14	39	86	61	401	1164
29	30	71	70	365	270

7	5	93	25	254	180
14	39	86	61	401	1164
29	30	71	70	365	270

1965 2619

48	32	52	65	78	91
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2551	2735
27	27

32777
4200

436

3/77	4/24	5/2	6/1
------	------	-----	-----

62

4015

4628

4628	55	45
4613	55	45

VARIABLE

Tableau A-7

Importance des nouvelles techniques dans les nouvelles en général (nouvelles en général = 100%)

Nom du journal	Importance des nouvelles techniques dans les nouvelles en général (nouvelles en général = 100%)			
	Information technique	Information non technique	Nombre de projets d'information	(en général)
<u>Public spécialisé, français</u>				
Terre de Chez Nous	2	1	98	1251
Montréal-Matin	2	2	98	1400
Le Devoir	2	3	98	1463
<u>Tous publics anglais et français</u>				
Le Soleil	2	4	98	3046
London Free Press	8	7	92	3087
La Presse	4	5	96	2582
Montreal Star	5	7	95	2822
Toronto Star	6	6	94	3143
<u>Revue</u>				
Châtelaine français		4	96	2974
Châtelaine anglais		7	93	3200
Total				

VARIABLE

18

La situation des messages publicitaires dans le ^{1er} journal -
(100% : nombre de messages)

Nom du journal	central	Total	Latéral	Nombre de messages publicitaires N	N
<u>Public spécialisé, français</u>					
Terre de Chez Nous	54	67	54	54	67
Montréal-Matin	43	24	2	55	41
Le Devoir	41	48	6	53	100
	33	45	4	63	100
<u>Tous publics anglais et français</u>					
Le Soleil	26	42	1	73	100
London Free Press	21	39	12	67	100
La Presse	24	22	7	69	100
Montreal Star	34	34	9	57	100
Toronto Star	33	27	2	65	100
<u>Revue</u>					
Châtelaine français		34			100
Châtelaine anglais		38			100
Total					

VARIABLE

A 9

Le rapport image-texte dans les messages publicitaires
(100% = nombre de messages)

Nom du journal	image > texte	image = texte	image < texte	Nombre de messages publicitaires
<u>Public spécialisé. français</u>				
Terre de Chez Nous	16	17	54	63
Montréal-Matin	11	15	44	100
Le Devoir	27	46	31	100
<u>Tous publics anglais et français</u>				
Le Soleil	20	36	48	100
London Free Press	26	28	37	100
La Presse	14	41	47	100
Montreal Star	16	25	39	100
Toronto Star	17	30	54	100
<u>Revue</u>				
Châtelaine français		81		100
Châtelaine anglais		64		100
Total				

VARIABLE

A 10

Importance des nouvelles féminines dites "centrales"
(100% = nombre de nouvelles féminines)

Nom du journal	Nouvelles centrales		Nouvelles latérales		Nombre de nouvelles féminines N	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67
<u>Public spécialisé, français</u>						
Terre de Chez Nous	87	74	13	26	209	84
Montréal-Matin	72	74	28	26	148	195
Le Devoir	72	69	28	31	133	143
<u>Tous publics anglais et français</u>						
Le Soleil	77	71	23	29	238	131
London Free Press	91	85	9	15	371	374
La Presse	78	71	22	29	164	213
Montreal Star	84	75	16	25	227	254
Toronto Star	81	76	19	24	233	203
<u>Revue</u>						
Châtelaine français		79		21		102
Châtelaine anglais		89		11		159
Total						

VARIABLE

A 11

Situation des nouvelles féminines dans le journal.
(100% = nombre des nouvelles féminines)

Nom du journal	1 ^{er} page	Pages féminines	Pages Apollon	Pages artistiques	Informations générales	Nombre des nouvelles féminines						
<u>Public spécialisé. français</u>												
Terre de Chez Nous	11.0	3.6	76.3	69.0	0	0	209	84				
Montréal-Matin	10.8	3.7	34	14.8	12.8	20.1	3.4	2.1	69.6	59.3	148	195
Le Devoir	13.7	2.1	39.9	43.0	3.8	14.6	9.2	13.2	34.4	27.1	133	143
<u>Tous publics anglais et français</u>												
Le Soleil	9.6	.8	13.2	44.5	14.8	5.5	6.3	28.1	56.1	21.1	238	131
London Free Press	5.7	5.9	54.6	43.2	5.0	2.2	1.9	5.5	34.8	43.2	371	274
La Presse	3.8	3.4	42.2	43.2	3.1	7.7	11.3	11.6	39.6	34.6	164	213
Montreal Star	4.6	1.8	44.2	44.7	7.1	4.8	10.8	6.3	33.9	39.4	227	254
Toronto Star	5.2	9.0	32.9	159	7.5	2.5	9.3	13.9	45.1	58.7	233	203
<u>Revenues</u>												
Châtelaine français	0		92.6		0			8.6	0			102
Châtelaine anglais	.7		896		0			9.6	.7			159
Total												

VARIABLE 1

CARACTERE DE LA NOUVELLE, SELON LES JOURNAUX ET PAR ANNEE.

(100% = total des nouvelles)

A 12

Nom du journal	Faits divers	Crime	Sous-Total	Conduite	Personne	Sous-Total	Nombre des cas
	54	67	54	67	54	67	N
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>							
Terre de Chez Nous.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.6	98.6	2.4
Montréal-Matin.	23.4	12.3	26.7	13.9	52.3	26.6	47.7
Le Devoir.	7.5	6.2	22.3	0.0	30.0	6.2	64.7
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>							
Le Soleil.	15.5	6.9	10.6	6.1	25.3	13.0	67.9
London Free Press.	3.1	9.8	4.3	6.6	12.7	16.7	67.3
La Presse.	14.6	18.0	7.9	3.4	22.4	24.0	70.3
Montreal Star.	3.4	7.7	6.7	6.4	15.1	14.1	31.3
Toronto Star.	10.7	13.7	7.3	13.7	10.0	26.7	80.7
<u>Revenues</u>							
Châtelaine français.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	76.4	4.0
Châtelaine anglais.	—	0.0	—	0.0	—	65.4	—
Total.	10.4	8.2	7.0	6.4	19.4	14.6	77.7
							77.1
							2.9
							8.4
							80.6
							86.4
							175.2

VARIABLE "11

A 13

Nom du journal

CARACTERE DE LA CONDUITE, SELON LES JOURNAUX ET PAR ANNEE.
(100% = total des conduites actives)

Actif

Passif

Nombre des cas.

N

N

'54

'67

'54

'67

'54

'67

Public spécialisé, français.

Terre de Chez Nous.

Montréal-Matin.

Le Devoir.

Tous publics anglais et français.

Le Soleil.

London Free Press.

La Presse.

Montreal Star.

Toronto Star.

Revenues

Châtelaine français.

Châtelaine anglais.

Total.

96.2

63.2

81.9

93.0

58.6

80.2

3.2

37.8

13.1

7.0

41.4

19.8

211

74

94

86

145

136

67.4

26.5

26.7

20.2

66.0

23.5

78.1

67.2

73.4

72.8

32.9

13.5

13.3

19.8

34.0

16.5

21.9

22.8

21.6

27.2

173

225

123

131

191

115

226

174

134

151

26.0

—

156.6

96.9

16.0

—

6.0

3.1

25

—

102

159

20.5

79.2

19.5

20.8

1415

1516

Tableau A 14

Lieu de l'activité

Nom du journal	Société globale		Disparité homme / femme		Univers féminin		Total
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	
<u>Publics spécialisés, français</u>							
Terre de chez nous	14.8	38.7	1.0	2.5	84.2	58.7	100.
Montréal Matin	37.0	32.9	6.5	2.6	56.5	64.7	100.
Le Devoir	32.9	43.0	10.5	16.8	56.6	40.2	100.
<u>Tous publics, anglais et français</u>							
Le Soleil	38.1	59.4	4.2	6.2	57.6	34.4	100.
London Free Press	21.1	34.3	4.3	6.2	74.6	59.5	100.
La Presse	36.7	57.9	8.9	12.9	56.4	30.2	100.
Montréal Star	32.7	46.5	9.3	7.6	58.0	45.6	100.
Toronto Star	41.5	51.8	4.8	11.8	53.7	36.4	100.
<u>Revue</u>							
Châtelaine français	65.0	53.0	0	10.0	35.0	37.0	100.
Châtelaine anglais	—	51.8		11.8		36.4	100.
Total	29.2	45.0	5.3	9.4	65.5	45.6	100.

Tableau A 15

Participation et personnalisation

Nom du journal	Participation		Personnalisation		Aucune part. ou pers.		Total
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	
<u>Public spécialisé, français</u>							
Terre de Chez Nous	3.4	15.2	7.9	11.3	89	72.5	
Montréal-Matin	10.9	12.9	50.	23.5	39.1	63.5	
Le Devoir	20.4		28.3		51.3		
		31.8		33.6		35.5	
<u>Tous publics, anglais et français</u>							
Le Soleil	8.5	30.4	30.5	35.5	61	34.3	
London Free Press	4.6	11.8	10.7	14.6	84.6	73.6	
La Presse	13.4	20.1	20.5	31.9	66.1	47.4	
Montreal Star	4.7	12.9	23.3	29.8	72	57.3	
Toronto Star	5.7	15.4	15.4	30.9	78.9	53.7	
<u>Revue</u>							
Châtelaine français	5	15.5	20.	49.5	75	35	
Châtelaine anglais		11.8		42.5		45.7	
Total							

VARIABLE 73

LES TYPES D'ACTION, SELON LES JOURNAUX ET PAR ANNEE.

A 16

Nom du journal.	Novatrice		Rétrograde		Exceptionnelle		Conforme		Total des cas	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	N '54	N '67
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>										
Terre de Chez Nous.	1.4	16.2	1.0	0.0	9.9	11.3	67.7	72.6	203	30
Montréal-Matin.	0.1	14.1	0.0	1.1	52.2	22.4	39.1	62.4	45	35
Le Devoir	14.5	37.4	2.6	1.0	34.2	28.0	48.7	33.6	76	107
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>										
Le Soleil.	8.4	21.9	0.9	1.0	20.5	42.8	60.2	33.3	110	96
London Free Press.	3.4	13.6	0.0	0.0	10.0	12.9	84.6	73.6	200	178
La Presse.	12.3	25.0	0.0	1.7	21.4	27.6	66.1	45.7	112	116
Montreal Star.	9.3	15.3	0.0	0.0	10.7	26.9	72.0	57.3	150	171
Toronto Star.	6.5	22.7	0.0	0.7	14.6	23.7	70.9	52.7	123	110
<u>Revue.</u>										
Châtelaine français.	0.0	13.0	0.0	0.0	26.0	47.0	75.0	35.0	20	100
Châtelaine anglais.		16.7		0.7		32.6		46.1		153
Total.	70	19.5	0.4	0.6	13.6	27.8	74.0	52.1	128	119

VARIABLE-74-(42)- 17 17

SECTEURS D'ACTIVITE, SELON LES JOURNAUX ET PAR ANNEE.
(100% = total des conduites actives)

Nom du journal.	Travail	Obligations familiales	Engagement	Loisirs	Total des cas			
	' 54	' 54	' 54	' 54	N N			
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>								
Terre de Chez Nous.	21.0	0.5	21.4	20.9	57.1	41.9	210	84
Montréal-Matin.	43.8	23.3	4.1	11.8	26.8	44.8	73	144
Le Devoir.	48.9	4.3	23.4	22.2	23.4	18.6	94	136
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>								
Le Soleil.	38.3	9.7	17.1	22.8	34.9	14.8	145	113
London Free Press.	25.1	3.7	26.3	13.6	44.9	42.4	123	
La Presse.	44.1	3.7	20.4	13.2	26.8	31.0	124	144
Montreal Star.	41.6	9.7	14.1	18.4	24.6	40.6	105	210
Toronto Star.	50.3	9.5	9.0	12.2	31.2	15.9	129	15
<u>Revenues.</u>								
Châtelaine français.	70.8	8.3	8.4	1.0	12.5	15.7	24	102
Châtelaine anglais.	-	-	-	11.4	-	19.6	-	115
TOTAL.	36.8	7.1	18.3	14.8	37.8	29.8	140.0	1513

VARIABLE (11)

A 18

Mode d'activité

Nom du journal

Public spécialisé. français

Terre de Chez Nous

Montréal-Matin

Le Devoir

Tous publics anglais et français

Le Soleil

London Free Press

La Presse

Montreal Star

Toronto Star

Revue

Châtelaine français

Châtelaine anglais

Total

MÉRITE		PAROLE		ACTION		TOTAL	
'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67
15.9	20.3	10.0	15.2	74.1	64.6	201	79
11.1	8.5	4.4	7.2	84.5	84.3	45	23
10.5	16.0	13.2	33.0	76.3	51.0	76	104
13.8	13.8	10.3	26.4	75.9	59.6	116	94
7.5	19.6	10.4	7.9	82.1	72.5	230	170
13.5	15.0	13.0	17.0	63.6	63.0	11	113
12.8	12.1	14.3	10.6	72.9	77.3	70	66
13.6	9.1	10.4	2.2	76.0	21.7	12.5	110
5.3	6.1	10.5	5.1	24.2	23.6	19	92
-	4.6	-	7.8	-	27.6	-	153
12.1	12.5	11.4	13.2	76.5	74.3	1043	103

VARIABLE (125)

Objet de l'Action.

419

Nom du journal

Public spécialisé. français

Terre de Chez Nous

Montréal-Matin

Le Devoir

Tous publics anglais et français

Le Soleil

London Free Press

La Presse

Montreal Star

Toronto Star

Revue

Châtelaine français

Châtelaine anglais

Total

CHoses	Personnes	Famille	Groupe	Condition	Société	Total
54	67	54	54	54	54	54

4.0	17.3	9.4	5.7	3.3	3.7	2.7	25.0	79.3	38.5	1.3	9.6	100	52
5.4	5.8	59.2	66.7	1.8	4.1	0.0	11.7	2.7	7.5	6.9	4.2	112	120
14.5	18.7	51.5	39.1	0.0	5.1	4.1	8.0	24.7	14.1	5.2	15.0	97	64

7.8	44.6	61.4	35.1	2.1	2.7	3.3	3.4	15.7	4.1	4.6	8.1	103	74
16.2	7.4	24.6	36.0	1.4	4.0	5.8	11.4	54.9	36.6	2.5	4.6	277	175
9.7	22.5	42.3	52.5	4.3	1.7	12.3	9.5	31.1	6.0	4.4	4.8	97	116
3.4	12.2	46.4	33.3	3.3	1.2	10.6	17.6	50.1	23.0	5.7	6.1	149	165
16.2	19.3	46.4	49.7	6.6	11.7	9.5	7.6	13.4	4.1	2.7	7.6	136	143

65.0	38.2	6.0	13.4	0.0	23.4	59.0	9.1	0.0	14.6	6.6	2.3	17	87
-	29.1	-	3.4	-	25.3	-	4.4	-	3.1	-	6.7	-	134

11.0	20.4	41.0	62.7	2.7	8.3	7.1	10.7	34.5	15.3	2.7	6.6	1205	1134
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VARIABLE (1a6)

CARACTÈRE DE L'ACTION.

A.20

Nom du journal	LUTTE.		CRÉATION		ACTE NEUTRE		TOTAL	
	Substitution							
<u>Public spécialisé. français</u>								
Terre de Chez Nous	1.3	7.7	2.7	9.6	96.0	82.7	150	52
Montréal-Matin	2.6	7.2	60.5	33.2	36.9	57.5	23	69
Le Devoir	6.9	26.4	41.4	43.4	51.7	30.2	56	53
<u>Tous publics anglais et français</u>								
Le Soleil	14.0	3.5	42.0	65.5	53.0	31.0	90	53
London Free Press	2.2	5.4	11.6	15.1	26.2	72.5	233	120
La Presse	10.5	10.6	29.0	43.4	60.5	116.0	76	76
Montreal Star	2.7	7.3	23.4	30.2	73.9	62.0	111	129
Toronto Star	4.2	11.0	22.0	36.3	75.8	53.7	95	91
<u>Revue</u>								
Châtelaine français	0.0	2.2	23.5	53.9	76.5	32.9	17	90
Châtelaine anglais	—	9.2	—	47.3	—	42.5	—	131
Total	3.6	29.7	21.5	37.5	74.9	54.1	263	27

12

Nature du sujet Social.

Nom du journal										
	Seule		Couple		Membre d'une association		Groupe		Total	
	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54
Public spécialisé. français										
Terre de Chez Nous	24.1	59.3	1.4		5.8	9.0	8.2	65.4	26.7	2.11
Montréal-Matin	77.0	64.8	15.5		11.0	1.3	3.5	10.9	50.4	74
Le Devoir	46.8	62.5	5.3		8.0	14.9	17.0	33.0	12.5	94
Tous publics anglais et français										
Le Soleil	52.8	66.6	7.9		7.8	15.7	16.7	28.6	8.8	178
London Free Press	30.6	42.4	2.1		4.2	9.2	13.3	54.2	40.5	321
La Presse	57.0	67.0	6.3		11.0	17.1	11.0	19.6	11.0	128
Montreal Star	55.3	60.0	2.4		8.5	7.9	12.0	32.9	20.0	88
Toronto Star	66.1	75.5	5.8		7.8	8.4	5.3	20.3	11.9	192
Revenues										
Châtelaine français	72.0	93.0	4.0		2.0	12.0	3.0	12.0	2.0	25
Châtelaine anglais	-	86.5	-		3.8	-	3.2	-	7.5	-
Total	416.4	66.2	5.3		2.7	9.9	9.3	32.4	17.8	1317
										138

VARIABLE (1)

A 22.

Visibilité Sociale.

Nom du journal

Public spécialisé, français
 Terre de Chez Nous
 Montréal-Matin
 Le Devoir

Tous publics anglais et français

Le Soleil
 London Free Press
 La Presse
 Montreal Star
 Toronto Star

Revue

Châtelaine français
 Châtelaine anglais

Total

Vedette	Théomachie	Quidam	Mouges	Total
'54 '64	'54 '64	'54 '64	'54 '64	'54 '64
3.2 9.3	11.4 23.3	20.1 44.4	54.3 19.7	211 86
63.5 44.1	4.1 2.3	29.7 41.4	2.7 6.2	74 145
19.1 26.6	22.3 31.8	33.1 25.2	25.55 8.0	94 125
37.0 36.4	10.1 24.4	42.7 20.3	10.2 0.9	170 115
12.2 20.1	6.9 8.8	33.9 46.6	47.0 20.3	321 248
34.4 46.0	19.5 19.3	20.6 31.0	15.6 4.7	120 171
28.0 44.2	10.5 8.1	20.4 40.7	23.11 4.0	86 90
35.0 37.3	4.7 16.7	49.9 29.3	12.4 6.7	192 150
43.0 16.7	12.0 34.3	40.0 44.6	0.0 0.0	25 103
- 22.7	- 27.0	- 44.3	- 2.5	- 1377

25.2 31.2 10.3 19.0 26.7 39.9 20.8 10.0 1315 1277

VARIABLE (9)

A 23

Nationalité

Nom du Journal

Public spécialisé. français
 Terre de Chez Nous
 Montréal-Matin
 Le Devoir

Tous publics anglais et français

Le Soleil
 London Free Press
 La Presse
 Montreal Star
 Toronto Star

Revenues

Châtelaine français
 Châtelaine anglais

Total

Nom du Journal	Canadien Français		Canadien Anglais		Public Nationalité		Théâtre Américain		Total	
	'54	'61	'54	'61	'54	'61	'54	'61	'54	'61
Terre de Chez Nous	93.8	87.5	2.4	6.0	5.3	10.5	0.5	0.0	211	86
Montréal-Matin	25.0	42.9	17.0	14.4	58.0	35.2	0.0	2.5	73	145
Le Devoir	49.5	30.4	12.1	44.5	21.2	40.7	3.2	4.4	93	135
<u>Tous publics anglais et français</u>										
Le Soleil	53.4	40.9	15.2	19.1	20.7	39.1	1.7	0.9	172	115
London Free Press	1.0	3.6	83.8	73.3	14.1	20.0	1.1	1.1	304	200
La Presse	47.0	36.7	18.1	21.6	32.1	35.3	1.6	6.4	127	171
Montreal Star	3.1	9.3	48.7	42.0	37.6	43.0	5.7	4.7	88	36
Toronto Star	4.2	1.3	63.0	50.2	32.8	46.4	0.0	1.1	192	151
<u>Revenues</u>										
Châtelaine français	0.0	66.7	0.0	18.7	84.0	14.7	16.0	0.9	25	102
Châtelaine anglais	-	7.0	-	63.0	-	0.0	-	25.0	-	153
Total	31.3	26.0	40.1	39.2	1.5	2.4	27.1	32.4	1314	1377

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TABIEAU A5.- Techniques publicitaires employées dans les annonces, selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal:	Slogan		Authenticité		Humour		Proxisme	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>								
Petit de Chez Nous	16	22	6	27	0	7	0	22
Montréal-Matin	30	26	0	20	3	11	8	18
Le Devoir	31	16	5	8	0	4	0	7
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>								
Le Soleil	12	35	11	10	3	14	1	32
London Free Press	9	8	3	9	2	7	4	9
La Presse	26	23	15	2	7	7	8	12
Montreal Star	9	10	3	0	1	4	5	13
Toronto Star	10	5	4	5	1	4	6	10
<u>Revue.</u>								
Châtelaine française	17	20	9	5	3	17	17	30
Châtelaine anglaise	-	(15)	-	(4)	-	(5)	-	(26)
Perspectives	15	32	19	6	2	33	7	35
TOTAL:	17.5	19.6	7.5	9.2	2.2	10.8	5.6	18.2

TABLEAU 24.- Types de produits annoncés, selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal:	Vêtements	Beauté Santé (h. t.)	Vêtements (Femmes)	Beauté Santé (Femmes)	Familiaux	Diversis- sements	Divers							
	(homme tous)													
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67						
<u>Public spécialisé,</u> <u>Français.</u>														
Terre de Chez Nous	0	0	13	12	5	5	0	46	27	15	28	15		
Montréal-Matin	6	6	1	13	2	5	0	10	13	71	7	21		
Le Devoir	2	1	2	1	14	5	0	2	11	45	63	26		
<u>Tous Publics anglais</u> <u>et français.</u>														
Le Soleil	1	2	11	3	22	32	20	12	17	7	20	33	9	11
London Free Press	1	1	9	3	17	19	8	15	27	14	31	38	7	10
La Presse	3	0	3	4	25	30	20	10	22	15	19	30	8	11
Montreal Star	1	0	4	3	21	35	7	12	31	19	26	26	10	11
Toronto Star	2	2	8	4	19	30	13	11	28	11	21	26	9	16
<u>Revues.</u>														
Châtelaine français	0	0	4	6	8	19	32	27	30	37	19	4	7	7
Châtelaine anglais	-	(3)	-	(3)	-	(14)	-	(30)	-	(34)	-	(12)	-	(4)
Perspectives	5	3	17	23	3	6	40	29	31	16	1	16	3	0
TOTAL:	2.1	1.5	7.2	7.2	13.6	19.5	14.0	17.4	23.7	13.5	28.0	26.1	11.4	12.8

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TABLEAU A5.- Qualités associées aux produits annoncés,
selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal:	Economie		Luxe		Santé		Durabilité		Facilité		Utilité	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>												
Terre de Chez Nous	48	41	14	0	32	27	30	41	48	61	27	37
Montréal-Matin	44	43	11	16	6	11	12	16	23	42	12	25
Le Devoir	51	30	18	14	4	4	8	7	21	20	21	27
<u>Tous publics, anglais et français.</u>												
Le Soleil	42	42	9	26	20	2	21	19	26	24	2	25
London Free Press	39	62	14	26	10	8	11	16	31	22	28	20
La Presse	42	50	14	10	8	1	17	17	26	16	15	11
Montreal Star	49	61	32	30	5	3	14	9	30	21	43	28
Toronto Star	36	46	26	33	8	5	7	7	26	29	34	27
<u>Revue.</u>												
Châtelaine français	27	11	20	17	4	10	20	26	27	30	33	45
Châtelaine anglais	-	(21)	-	(18)	-	(8)	-	(25)	-	(42)	-	(35)
Perspectives	36	22	17	9	10	25	25	16	37	32	19	24
TOTAL:	41.4	40.8	17.5	18.3	10.7	9.6	16.5	17.6	29.5	29.7	23.4	26.9

TABLEAU 15.- (suite) Qualités associées aux produits annoncés, selon le genre de périodique et par année (suite)

Nom du journal:	Confort		Efficacité		Amour		Beauté élégance		Sécurité		Douceur	
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>												
Terre de Chez Nous	37	22	37	73	0	22	33	44	26	10	32	0
Montréal-Matin	16	18	8	36	0	6	32	31	18	12	14	5
Le Devoir	23	19	27	24	1	8	25	9	27	17	19	3
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>												
Le Soleil	19	30	21	13	2	12	42	47	18	10	40	17
London Free Press	14	21	18	21	3	3	43	49	21	17	41	21
La Presse	16	22	20	13	10	3	42	35	13	16	16	15
Montreal Star	25	19	22	17	3	2	49	70	16	16	26	16
Toronto Star	21	21	26	11	5	4	55	51	20	11	34	16
<u>Revue.</u>												
Châtelaine français	22	25	32	44	6	12	32	44	11	13	38	21
Châtelaine anglais	-	(32)	-	(22)	-	(7)	-	(55)	-	(21)	-	(37)
Perspectives	18	40	45	40	2	22	16	46	22	11	44	24
TOTAL:	21.1	23.7	25.6	29.2	3.2	9.4	36.9	42.6	19.2	13.3	30.4	13.8

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TABLEAU EX.- (suite) Qualités associées aux produits annoncés, selon
le genre de périodique et par année (suite)

Nom du journal:	Qualité		Vitesse		Nouveauté		Originalité	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>								
Terre de Chez Nous	44	20	41	39	41	29	41	15
Montréal-Matin	44	44	23	30	35	25	44	41
Le Devoir	46	30	18	18	30	18	35	37
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>								
Le Soleil	37	52	19	19	40	35	29	43
London Free Press	73	73	19	15	31	42	66	72
La Presse	43	49	20	9	44	24	41	28
Montreal Star	87	93	22	8	50	41	81	83
Toronto Star	79	72	20	8	33	37	83	73
<u>Revue.</u>								
Châtelaine français	86	80	20	13	39	39	79	49
Châtelaine anglais	-	(86)	-	(14)	-	(39)	-	(80)
Perspectives	55	62	34	25	28	26	33	45
TOTAL:	62.9	57.5	23.6	18.9	37.6	31.5	53.2	48.6

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TABIEAU A67- Age du personnage féminin, selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal:	Adolescente		Jeune		35 à 55 ans		Plus de 55 ans	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>								
Terre de Chez Nous	5	0	84	91	11	7	0	2
Montréal-Matin	1	6	92	72	6	21	1	1
Le Devoir	0	1	91	89	8	10	1	0
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>								
Le Soleil	0	5	97	91	2	3	1	1
London Free Press	2	1	79	89	18	9	1	1
La Presse	1	2	89	88	8	10	2	0
Montreal Star	1	2	83	89	16	8	0	1
Toronto Star	1	2	81	84	18	16	0	0
<u>Revue.</u>								
Châtelaine français	2	4	65	65	34	11	1	0
Châtelaine anglais	1	0	-	(81)	-	(17)	-	(2)
Perspectives	1	7	85	77	13	13	0	3
TOTAL:	1.4	3.0	84.5	85.5	13.4	10.6	0.7	0.9

TABLEAU 29.-

65

Couleur des cheveux du personnage féminin,
selon le genre de périodique et par année.

Nom du journal:	Blonds		Bruns		Noirs		Roux		Gris/Blanc		Indéterminé	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>												
Terre de Chez Nous	29	22	18	10	32	54	0	0	0	3	1	11
Montréal-Matin	27	29	20	20	52	37	0	0	0	1	1	13
Le Devoir	29	38	22	29	14	22	0	0	1	2	34	9
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>												
Le Soleil	40	40	25	11	32	42	0	0	1	1	2	6
London Free Press	30	29	40	30	29	41	0	0	1	0	0	0
La Presse	36	32	22	35	32	13	0	0	7	0	3	20
Montreal Star	37	40	29	37	34	19	0	0	0	2	0	2
Toronto Star	33	21	39	45	28	34	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>REVUES.</u>												
Châtelaine française	39	37	48	35	8	17	1	3	1	0	3	8
Châtelaine anglaise	-	(48)	-	(34)	-	(13)	-	(4)	-	(1)	-	9
Perspectives	15	26	50	26	14	40	0	0	0	5	11	1
TOTAL:	31.5	31.4	34.3	28.0	27.5	31.9	.1	.3	1.1	1.4	5.5	7.0

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TABLEAU A8.- Costume du personnage féminin, selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal:	Jeunes		Sport		Ménages		Quotidien		Chics		Autres	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67
<u>Public spécialisé, français</u>												
Deux de Chez Nous	0	7	8	5	4	5	60	51	16	32	4	0
Montréal-Matin	0	1	20	27	1	1	30	30	26	30	15	11
Le Devoir	0	2	9	25	2	0	55	56	30	14	4	3
<u>Tous médias anglais et français</u>												
<u>Le Soleil</u>	2	4	7	23	4	9	44	19	26	40	17	5
London Free Press	0	2	8	19	6	4	51	41	22	30	13	4
La Presse	0	2	7	13	6	2	41	42	6	26	40	15
Montreal Star	0	3	9	18	4	6	40	47	29	22	10	4
Toronto Star	0	0	9	22	6	4	50	53	19	17	8	4
<u>Revue</u>												
Châteauneuve française	10	8	8	13	5	10	48	31	21	23	8	15
Châteauneuve anglaise	-	(4)	-	(7)	-	(14)	-	(33)	-	(30)	-	(7)
Perspectives	3	7	3	12	3	7	59	26	28	42	4	6
TOTAL:	1.5	3.5	6.8	17.6	4.1	4.9	51.0	39.7	22.2	27.6	12.3	6.7

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TABLEAU 27.- Notoriété du personnage féminin, selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal:	Anonyme		Inconnue Identifiée		Personnalité locale		Personnalité internationale	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>								
Terre de chez Nous	94	93	0	7	3	0	3	0
Montréal-Matin	87	91	1	7	10	1	2	1
Le Devoir	93	82	2	4	3	7	2	7
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>								
Le Soleil	91	87	3	8	3	3	3	2
London Free Press	90	89	2	9	0	1	0	1
La Presse	94	87	3	9	1	5	2	5
Montreal Star	99	99	1	1	0	0	0	0
Toronto Star	96	93	0	5	1	2	3	0
<u>Nouvelles.</u>								
Châtelaine française	92	95 ¹	5	3	2	1	1	1
Châtelaine anglaise	-	(96)	-	(2)	-	(1)	-	(1)
Perspectives	83	89	2	7	0	2	8	2
TOTAL:	92.7	90.5 ¹	2.6	5.4	2.3	2.2	2.4	1.9

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TABLEAU 210.- Qualités associées au personnage féminin, selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal:	Jeunesse		Jeunesse		Médiance		Plaisir		Sociabilité		Intuition	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67
Public spécialisé, français.												
Terre de Chez Nous	87	76	37	61	32	83	67	39	54	20	0	0
Montréal-Matin	92	81	54	82	50	80	78	52	46	23	0	0
Le Devoir	62	72	50	27	56	46	47	50	29	32	0	0
Tous publics anglais et français.												
Le Soleil	92	71	77	62	48	65	67	43	8	26	0	1
London Free Press	72	84	61	82	59	70	59	51	34	36	1	0
La Presse	40	60	45	37	41	46	31	41	22	18	0	2
Montréal Star	94	99	70	87	76	83	53	44	42	34	0	0
Toronto Star	83	84	67	81	66	82	62	59	27	37	0	0
Reynes.												
Châtelaine français	91	79	90	89	88	74	41	18	28	22	0	9
Châtelaine anglais	-	(95)	-	(92)	-	(88)	-	(44)	-	(27)	-	0
Perspectives	76	82	33	90	59	71	43	49	22	27	1	4
TOTAL:	78.9	78.8	58.4	69.8	57.5	70.0	54.8	44.6	31.2	27.5	0.2	1.6

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TABIEAU A10.- (suite) Qualités associées au personnage féminin, selon le genre de périodique et par année (suite)

Nom du journal:	Sincérité		Talente		Bonneur		Naturel		Richesse		Amour	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>												
Terre de Chez Nous	0	2	3	12	8	0	0	7	5	0	41	17
Montréal-Matin	0	2	19	14	2	14	0	6	0	15	19	27
Le Devoir	1	2	16	17	16	18	10	4	27	24	21	15
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>												
Le Soleil	0	7	5	8	2	12	1	9	3	15	14	16
London Free Press	1	1	7	8	17	22	2	-	6	16	25	39
La Presse	4	0	7	11	13	7	7	4	10	9	19	14
Montreal Star	1	1	4	2	8	8	1	2	5	5	28	19
Toronto Star	1	0	2	4	12	10	3	0	4	9	26	29
<u>Revenus.</u>												
Châtelaine français	0	27	10	18	37	50	0	30	18	27	28	26
Châtelaine anglais	-	(2)	-	3	-	31	-	(6)	-	(13)	-	(25)
Perspectives	1	11	8	10	36	29	22	21	19	18	31	23
TOTAL:	.9	5.3	8.1	10.4	15.3	17.0	5.4	8.3	9.7	13.8	25.2	22.5

TABLEAU A10:-(suite) Qualités associées au personnage féminin, selon le genre de périodique et par année (suite)

Nom du journal:	Vitalité		Propreté		Démour		Santé		Modernité		Culture	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>												
Terre de Chez Nous	35	22	6	12	64	22	16	39	3	3	0	7
Montréal-Matin	22	33	4	6	9	18	1	17	0	5	1	5
Le Devoir	30	33	3	3	16	25	4	4	9	22	2	6
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>												
Le Soleil	12	25	9	5	10	25	8	17	2	15	0	6
London Free Press	27	29	8	3	14	23	6	8	4	3	1	0
La Presse	16	11	18	8	15	30	10	3	4	15	3	4
Montreal Star	25	18	9	7	11	6	2	3	6	5	1	1
Toronto Star	26	22	11	6	15	19	8	8	2	1	0	0
<u>Revue.</u>												
Châtelaine français	28	14	19	35	9	34	6	26	13	35	1	11
Châtelaine anglais	-	(21)	-	(15)	-	(13)	-	(2)	-	(3)	-	1
Perspectives	45	20	40	22	6	22	14	24	7	13	2	8
TOTAL:	26.6	22.7	12.7	10.7	16.9	22.4	7.5	14.9	5.0	11.7	1.1	4.8

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TABLÉAU A10.- (suite)

Qualités associées au personnage féminin, selon le genre de périodique et par année (suite)

Nom du journal:	Originalité		Intelligence	
	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>				
Terre de Chez Nous	0	0	2	10
Montréal-Matin	0	5	0	6
Le Devoir	4	14	6	4
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>				
Le Soleil	0	8	0	11
London Free Press	0	9	0	1
La Presse	3	8	5	6
Montreal Star	2	1	3	1
Toronto Star	1	6	0	2
<u>Revue.</u>				
Châtelaine français	5	17	4	13
Châtelaine anglais	-	(2)	-	(3)
Perspectives	6	7	11	8
TOTAL:	2.1	7.5	3.1	6.2

TABIEAU 217.- Secteurs d'activités du personnel féminin, selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal	Travail		Obligations		Loisirs		Non-activités	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Publics canadiens, français.</u>								
Terre de Chez Nous	32	24	27	15	17	12	24	49
Montréal-Matin	38	15	5	16	35	34	23	34
Le Devoir	19	22	6	11	45	47	30	20
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>								
Le Soleil	25	14	9	11	21	35	44	40
London Free Press	26	19	8	7	28	34	38	40
La Presse	27	18	9	11	24	31	40	40
Montreal Star	28	20	8	6	31	33	33	41
Toronto Star	32	18	9	7	34	40	25	35
<u>Revue.</u>								
Châteaine française	23	18	22	21	31	15	24	46
Châteaine anglaise	-	(16)	-	(12)	-	(27)	-	(45)
Perspectives	25	10	21	13	17	37	37	40
TOTAL:	27.5	17.9	12.4	11.8	28.3	31.8	31.8	38.5

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TABLÉAU 103.- Finalité de l'action du personnage féminin, selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal :	Individuelle		Privée		Organisationnelle Société		Indéterminé	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>								
Parre de Chez Nous	5	20	66	27	6	7	21	46
Montréal-Matin	1	19	32	35	25	5	22	41
Le Devoir	14	12	48	51	9	16	29	21
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>								
Le Soleil	17	20	30	39	9	12	36	28
London Free Press	15	9	41	45	7	6	37	40
The Press	14	23	46	26	4	15	36	36
Montreal Star	10	9	53	44	8	7	29	40
Toronto Star	16	18	57	49	4	10	23	32
<u>Revue.</u>								
Châtelaine français	24	21	50	31	3	8	23	40
Châtelaine anglais	-	(29)	-	(33)	-	(2)	-	46
Perspectives	14	22	46	29	0	11	40	38
TOTAL:	13.0	17.3	49.9	35.8	7.5	9.7	29.6	37.2

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TABLEAU 11.- Réseau de relation du personnage féminin, selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal :	Seule		Couple		Familie		Professionnel		Amis	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>										
Pierre de Chez Nous	27	66	41	15	22	15	3	2	7	2
Montréal-Matin	26	55	27	18	15	14	22	2	11	11
Le Devoir	43	45	24	31	16	3	7	6	10	15
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>										
Le Soleil	61	59	13	13	14	12	4	7	8	10
London Free Press	64	50	22	33	6	6	3	4	5	7
La Presse	54	56	18	20	21	8	3	8	4	8
Montreal Star	54	64	26	13	14	10	1	4	5	9
Toronto Star	59	62	19	13	12	8	3	2	7	10
<u>Revue.</u>										
Châtelaine français	65	69	14	9	14	12	1	1	6	9
Châtelaine anglais	-	(66)	-	(8)	-	(21)	-	(1)	-	(4)
Perspectives	62	55	9	24	24	9	3	1	2	11
TOTAL:	51.4	53.0	21.3	19.4	15.8	9.7	5.0	3.7	6.5	9.2

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TABLEAU A157 - Proximité des objets, selon le genre
de périodique et par année

Nom du journal:	Sans contact		Véhicule le plus près annoncé		Proximité le plus grande		Contact avec d'autres objets	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>								
Terre de Chez Nous	37	61	35	27	24	5	4	7
Montréal-Matin	55	51	27	29	12	13	5	7
Le Devoir	30	45	30	25	20	7	12	23
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>								
Le Soleil	28	33	32	47	31	8	9	12
London Free Press	30	39	23	24	36	30	11	7
La Presse	24	32	53	43	15	5	8	20
Montreal Star	27	30	23	17	41	44	9	9
Toronto Star	26	44	23	10	40	31	1	15
<u>Revue.</u>								
Châtelaine français	49	33	30	35	8	19	13	8
Châtelaine anglais	-	(38)	-	(19)	-	(26)	-	(17)
Perspectives	48	48	25	33	15	11	12	0
TOTAL:	35.5	42.1	30.0	29.0	24.2	17.3	9.4	11.6

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TABLEAU A17.- RÔle du personnage féminin, selon le genre de
périodique et par année

Nom du journal:	Famillial		Sexuel		Travail		Divertissement		Forme-access-	
	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public socialisé, français.</u>										
Terre de Chez Nous	38	17	27	17	3	13	16	12	16	41
Montréal-Matin	20	16	19	19	18	9	27	27	16	30
Le Devoir	19	9	17	24	7	13	29	32	28	22
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>										
Le Soleil										
London Free Press	26	14	13	14	7	8	19	26	35	36
La Presse	19	13	20	26	6	7	21	25	34	29
Montreal Star	33	16	16	18	5	13	16	18	30	35
Toronto Star	27	16	21	13	5	6	13	23	24	35
	28	14	17	14	4	7	27	33	24	32
<u>News.</u>										
Châtelaine français	29	24	21	15	1	2	26	17	23	42
Châtelaine anglais	-	(28)	-	(10)	-	(2)	-	(20)	-	40
Perspectives	39	10	15	23	3	4	12	29	31	34
TOTAL:	27.1	15.2	18.5	18.2	6.2	7.9	21.9	25.6	26.2	33.1

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TABLEAU A18.- Valeurs dans l'annonce, selon le genre de périodique et par année

Nom du journal :	Luxe		Superfin		Gratuité		Utilité		Nécessaire		Económico	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>												
Terre de Chez Nous	3	0	0	7	0	2	80	86	5	24	40	39
Montréal-Matin	5	24	0	26	0	19	33	63	2	19	41	20
Le Devoir	15	31	8	9	7	10	42	39	12	12	23	9
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>												
Le Soleil	4	19	0	22	0	15	52	38	7	3	35	23
London Free Press	14	13	1	11	3	8	56	39	14	11	23	22
La Presse	4	14	6	4	2	4	48	30	8	5	24	30
Montreal Star	14	6	0	0	10	16	62	52	39	42	26	16
Toronto Star	18	22	1	6	3	12	60	42	27	25	20	23
<u>Revue.</u>												
Châtelaine français	42	26	13	11	15	5	59	69	45	43	6	11
Châtelaine anglais	-	(32)	-	(1)	-	(7)	-	(67)	-	(46)	-	(8)
Perspectives	20	17	5	13	4	4	74	73	36	15	20	22
TOTAL:	13.9	17.2	3.4	10.5	4.4	9.5	56.6	53.0	19.5	19.9	25.8	21.5

TABLEAU A16.-

(1944)

Voieurs dans l'annonce, selon le genre de périodique et par année (suite)

Nom du journal:	Nouveauté		Ancienneté		Originalité		Conformité		Activité		Passivité	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67
<u>Public spécialisé,</u> <u>Français.</u>												
Terre de Chez Nous	32	27	2	10	24	34	25	17	21	20	0	0
Montréal-Matin	33	50	5	3	34	52	19	19	7	33	0	1
Le Devoir	40	39	7	9	31	41	7	12	18	26	1	1
<u>Tous publics anglais</u> <u>et français.</u>												
Le Soleil	40	42	6	2	31	55	5	14	13	25	0	1
London Free Press	45	44	7	5	24	35	25	12	29	22	3	0
La Presse	46	36	9	9	42	29	21	12	11	16	0	0
Montréal Star	51	59	3	3	35	29	24	21	23	15	4	22
Toronto Star	49	40	0	1	44	53	20	19	24	17	0	1
<u>Revue.</u>												
Châtelaine français	62	58	1	3	39	51	47	21	31	20	2	3
Châtelaine anglais	-	(46)	-	(6)	-	(39)	-	(32)	-	(17)	-	(13)
Perspectives	47	47	6	3	15	60	44	29	36	25	0	5
TOTAL:	44.5	44.2	4.6	4.8	32.0	43.9	23.7	17.6	21.3	22.1	1.0	3.4

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TABLEAU A10.-

*W. H. H.*Valeurs dans l'annonce, selon le genre
de périodique et par année (suite)

Nom du journal:	Perfection		Facilité		Calme		Vitesse		Équilibre		Sécurité	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67.	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67
<u>Public spécialisé,</u> <u>français.</u>												
Tout de Chez Nous	0	5	48	58	24	2	24	29	2	2	51	34
Montréal-Matin	0	3	19	47	9	4	36	20	1	10	30	33
Le Devoir	3	4	29	31	10	11	15	18	0	3	44	36
<u>Tous publics anglais</u> <u>et français.</u>												
Le Soleil	0	2	27	18	16	13	22	13	0	14	34	27
London Free Press	0	1	42	27	17	17	17	9	3	0	24	24
La Presse	2	4	26	15	7	4	10	15	5	2	21	38
Montréal Star	0	0	35	47	25	36	12	6	0	1	34	22
Toronto Star	0	1	29	33	18	19	9	9	0	1	36	33
<u>Revue.</u>												
Châtelaine français	6	2	55	53	18	17	12	21	0	2	30	36
Châtelaine anglais	-	(1)	-	(46)	-	(48)	-	(9)	-	(1)	-	(44)
Perspectives	0	5	48	45	6	16	9	33	0	7	26	52
TOTAL:	1.1	2.7	35.8	37.4	15.0	13.9	16.5	17.3	1.1	4.2	33.0	33.5

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TABIEAU A18... *10/27* Valeurs dans l'annonce, selon le genre de
périodique et par année (suite)

Nom du journal:	Distrib		Séjour		Ventes		Naturel		Ventes		Tondresse	
	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67	'54	'67
<u>Public spécialisé,</u> <u>français.</u>												
Terre de Chez Nous	78	10	2	12	2	19	5	12	5	0	24	15
Montréal-Matin	85	33	1	11	2	0	0	1	1	0	19	12
Le Devoir	14	33	7	7	3	5	0	3	1	0	20	9
<u>Tous publics anglais</u> <u>et français.</u>												
Le Soleil	57	32	0	7	3	16	7	3	1	0	39	21
London Free Press	54	54	4	3	2	4	8	2	0	1	37	32
La Presse	16	26	0	1	9	5	1	1	0	1	19	16
Montréal Star	49	50	9	4	0	3	5	7	0	0	32	40
Toronto Star	37	53	4	5	4	1	3	1	0	0	25	24
<u>Revue.</u>												
Châtelaine français	19	10	12	27	4	10	7	24	0	2	45	50
Châtelaine anglais	-	(51)	-	(9)	-	(2)	-	(14)	-	0	-	(6)
Perspectives	22	28	0	22	7	14	8	30	0	3	32	42
TOTAL:	45.1	32.9	3.9	9.9	3.6	7.7	4.4	8.4	0.8	0.7	29.2	36.1

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TABLEAU A13:--*WMAA*

Violence dans l'annonce, selon le genre
de périodique et par année (suite)

Nom du journal:	Mensualité		Totalités	
	1954	1967	1954	1967
<u>Public spécialisé, français.</u>				
Terre de Chez Nous	0	0	5	25
Montréal-Matin	0	3	3	23
Le Devoir	1	1	18	16
<u>Tous publics anglais et français.</u>				
Le Soleil	0	0	29	33
London Free Press	1	0	34	30
La Presse	1	0	24	29
Montreal Star	1	0	32	43
Toronto Star	0	0	37	35
<u>Reviues.</u>				
Châtelaine français	0	0	74	67
Châtelaine anglais	1	(0)	--	(55)
Perspectives	1	1	59	44
TOTAL:	.5	.5	31.5	35.2

